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THE BOARDING-OUT
OF
PAUPER CHILDREN IN SCOTLAND



THE BOARDING-OUT
OF
PAUPER CHILDREN IN SCOTLAND

BY
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OF SUPERVISION) IN SCOTLAND

WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON PAUPERISM, AND
A NOTE ON LOCAL INSPECTION

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON

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WYOMING
COUNTY
CLERK

*THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED TO PATRICK
FRASER, ESQUIRE, SHERIFF OF THE COUN-
TIES OF RENFREW AND BUTE, WHO HAS
BEEN FOR MANY YEARS A VALUED MEM-
BER OF THE BOARD OF SUPERVISION.*



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THE INTRODUCTION.

ON PAUPERISM IN SCOTLAND.

THE increase of pauperism in Scotland since the Poor-Law Amendment Act of 1845 was passed has been the theme of much animated declamation, lay and clerical; and as serious misconceptions appear to prevail on the subject, it may be well to devote a few introductory sentences to its consideration.

In a highly-organised state of society a national provision for the poor is a necessary evil. A poor-law is an evil, in so far as it encourages improvidence, in so far as it enables the selfish and indolent to evade the obligations which natural law imposes upon them, and in so far as it has a tendency to blunt the finer and more sensitive feelings of a large class of the population. A poor-law is a *necessary* evil, because a civilised community cannot permit any of its members to die of want,—cannot do so, not merely because

such a calamity is repugnant to the benevolent sentiments which animate such a community, but because it is unsafe to allow any number of the people to sink below a certain standard of wellbeing, to become, through extreme destitution, utterly abject and brutalised, and to spread the contagion of their wretchedness around. In Scotland, before 1845, no adequate provision was made for the poor, and their condition had become a scandal to the country. During that year the Poor-Law Amendment Act was carried through Parliament by the Lord Advocate of the day. Lord Colonsay was one of the most gifted of a generation which has passed or is passing away. He was the leader of the Scotch bar before the Scotch bar had ceased to represent the intellectual force of Scotland. For justice of judgment, for shrewd administrative sagacity, for admirable common-sense, for patience, policy, prudence, for knowledge of men and affairs, for familiarity with the true principles on which sound legal decision rests, for grasp, comprehension, fairness, and temperance of intellectual faculty (not unwarmed by imagination and the passion of the orator), the name of Duncan M'Neill of Colonsay will go down to posterity with that of Duncan Forbes of Culloden. The Poor-Law of which he was the author, and for which he was mainly responsible, has stood the test of thirty trying years with really eminent success.

The grounds upon which the Act of 1845 has been assailed, though frequently stated at great length, and from many different points of view, admit of easy classification. It has been assailed (1) because it has largely increased the expenditure on pauperism; (2) because it has increased the number of paupers; and (3) because it has contributed to produce that deterioration of the national character which (it is alleged) has taken place during the past thirty years. We do not think that any of the arguments which have been directed against the Act are sound; and it will be convenient to examine them in the order in which they have now been stated.

I. THE INCREASE OF EXPENDITURE ON THE POOR.

There appears to be in certain quarters what we may venture to call a radical misconception of the conditions under which this branch of the case must be considered and dealt with. The persons to whom we refer argue in this fashion: "The expenditure upon the poor before the Act was passed amounted to so much: there has been since the Act was passed a vast increase; therefore the Act must have been badly drawn, and the administration must have been extravagant." Now this possibly might have been a perfectly fair argument in the case of the English Poor-Law Act of 1834. The English Act

was framed with the express object of *reducing* the expenditure, which, as Sir George Nicholls has shown, was at that time not only profuse but fraudulent. It was intended to check the abuses in the way of improper expenditure which had prevailed under the old system. But the main object of the Scotch Poor-Law Act was to *increase* the legal expenditure upon the poor. The Commissioners, on whose report the Act of 1845 was based, reported that the funds expended on the relief of the poor were inadequate—inadequate in respect that the allowances given were illusory, that there was no effective management, that education and medical relief did not form legal charges upon the funds, and that the condition of the lunatic poor was often disgraceful and revolting.

In these circumstances it is clear that the Act was passed with the intention of largely increasing the expenditure upon the poor. It must be kept in view, moreover, that the funds available for the relief of the poor, *as given in the returns*, under the old system cannot be regarded as even an approximation to the sums actually expended, and that any reliable comparison between the expenditure before and since 1845 is impossible. The old Scottish poor-law system may be best described as a regulated and legalised *scheme of begging*. In the northern and western counties, constituting the Highland district, the allowances given to the poor were merely nominal,—so

small, say the Commissioners, as not to be of any material assistance in providing for their support. In these districts the allowance was sometimes as low as 2s. annually, and it seldom exceeded 10s., even in a case of special necessity—from one farthing to the fourth of a farthing a-day ! We are not surprised to learn, therefore, that such a preposterous allowance was given, not in the light of relief, but “as an acknowledgment of poverty,”—a sort of recognition of the claim of the party receiving it to obtain charitable aid in whatever other way he could from the benevolent individuals in the neighbourhood. In many rural parishes throughout the country the smallest amount of relief was denied, but the poor received a badge, and were licensed to beg within the limits of the parish in conformity with the Act of 1672. Even without receiving such badges, the Commissioners found that in most of the burghs and smaller towns the paupers were allowed to beg on one or more days of the week,—as in Inverary, Dingwall, Thurso, Perth, Kirkcaldy, Peterhead, and many others. In Shetland, again, the poor were relieved by being “quartered” in rotation upon (in other words, lodged and fed by) the inhabitants of the district. Before 1845 there was no machinery for obtaining exact returns of the expenditure under the poor-law ; but it is obvious that even if these were accessible they would furnish little information as to the actual cost of the poor to

the country. They would show the nominal, not the real, amount of relief—the nominal being, as we have seen, a mere fraction of the whole.

It is not easy to understand how a system, which chiefly supported itself on mendicancy, should have been permitted to exist until 1845. It is easy, however, to see why it should have become unpopular. No class of the community, as we have said, can be permitted to remain in an utterly degraded and brutal condition without injuriously affecting the classes above them; and the injury inflicted is never so great as when this class follows a vocation (such as mendicity is) which brings them into habitual contact with their betters. The old system was abolished, however, not merely because it had failed to provide a decent maintenance for the destitute, but because it was one replete with annoyance to those who, in fact, supported the destitute. When, besides the swarm of unlicensed beggars, the whole poor of a town were entitled to call upon the householders two days in the week, and demand relief, the evil became too intolerable to be patiently borne. The Act of 1845 was a measure demanded alike by the necessities of the needy, and the convenience of the well-to-do, community.

Assuming, therefore, that the Poor - Law Amendment Act was passed with the view of largely increasing the legal provision for the poor, the question comes to be—Has the increase which has actually

taken place exceeded the increase which ought fairly to have been looked for?—is the expenditure under the Act improper, extravagant, or corrupt? It is difficult to return any absolutely conclusive answer to this inquiry; but instead of going into hysterics over the “appalling,” the “astounding,” the “monstrous” increase of expense, there are one or two facts which should be kept steadily in view.

The English Poor-Law Amendment Act of 1834 was passed with the object of reducing the expenditure upon the poor, and of introducing checks calculated to secure an honest and economical administration. It may therefore be assumed that, from the experience of this improved system, certain general conclusions as to the normal number of poor, and the normal amount of expenditure in a country similarly situated, may be safely drawn.

The expenditure on the poor in England,* as stated in the annual report of the Poor-Law Board, amounted last year to £7,664,957. But to enable a fair comparison between the English and Scotch expenditure to be made, it should be known that this sum does not represent the total expenditure included in the Scotch returns. The sum of £617,908, which

* The latest reports of the different Boards (unless where otherwise stated) are referred to in this paper—Report of Local Government Board (England), dated 22d March 1875; of Board of Supervision (Scotland), dated August 1875; and of Local Government Board (Ireland), dated 31st March 1875.

was paid by the English unions for law charges, salaries of collectors and assistant-overseers, and a variety of miscellaneous expenses connected with the administration of the law (as well as the expenses connected with vaccination, viz., £79,111), ought, it is thought, to be included. The total expenditure on the poor in England thus amounts to £8,249,879. The net annual value of real property in England amounted in 1873 to £114,000,000. The rate per head on the estimated population was thus about 7s. : the rate per pound on the annual value of real property about 1s. 5¼d. ; and the rate per cent about £7, 4s. 9d.

The expenditure on the poor in Scotland for the same period amounted, exclusive of buildings, to £794,916. The estimated annual value of real property in Scotland for 1874 was £19,932,940. The rate per head on the estimated population was thus about 4s. 7d. ; the rate per pound on the annual value of real property about 9½d. ; the rate per cent about £3, 19s. 9¼d. In England the people annually pay seven shillings per head for the support of their poor ; every pound of real property contributes about one shilling and sixpence. In Scotland the population per head pay four shillings and sevenpence ; every pound of real property contributes about tenpence. The ratio of poor to population (as

we shall see), though somewhat higher in England, is about the same in both countries ; but in Scotland, to the extent we have indicated, the burden upon the resources of the country is lighter.

In this table the expenditure of Scotland^f, as compared with the expenditure of England, will be seen at a glance :—

EXPENDITURE.

	England.	Scotland.	Difference in favour of Scotland.
Estimated population, . .	23,580,000	3,479,106	...
Valuation,	£114,000,000	£19,932,940	...
Total expenditure, exclusive of buildings, }	£8,249,879	£794,916	...
Rate per head of the popula- tion, }	£0 7 0	£0 4 7	£0 2 5
Rate per cent of valuation, .	£7 4 9	£3 19 9¼	£3 4 11¼
Rate per £ of the valuation,	£0 1 5¼	£0 0 9¼	£0 0 7¼

It may be, however, that the expenditure in Scotland, although relatively less than the expenditure in England, is truly heavier than the country can afford to bear,—that it is, to borrow a rhetorical phrase from

one of its assailants, "a cancer eating into the productive power of the country." This unpleasant comparison, when translated into the language of prose, means only, we presume, that the expenditure on pauperism is increasing more rapidly than our ability to bear it,—that is to say, than the productive energies and industrial resources of the country. But such an allegation is not consistent with the facts. The increase in the value of real property most inadequately represents the vast increase of the national wealth that has taken place during the last twenty years ; yet it is true that the increase in the value of real property alone is proportionally greater than the increase of expenditure. The rate per pound on the annual value of real property (on which the rate is levied) has been diminishing year by year. Twenty years ago each ratepayer paid one shilling and a farthing on each pound of his rental as his contribution to the poor ; in 1875 he paid ninepence halfpenny only.

This table, from which the cost of buildings is excluded, gives the details :—

RATE OF EXPENDITURE.

Year.	Expenditure for the Relief and Management of the Poor.	Estimated Valuation, based on Parliamentary Returns.	Rate of Expenditure per cent. and per £ of Valuation.	
			Per cent.	Per £.
	£	£	£ s. d.	s. d.
1856	602,822	11,700,935	5 3 0¼	1 0¼
1857	599,205	11,994,873	4 19 10¾	0 11¾
1858	622,634	12,288,811	5 1 4	1 0
1859	641,115	12,582,749	5 1 10¾	1 0
1860	643,303	13,428,403	4 15 9½	0 11¼
1861	657,953	14,274,058	4 12 2¼	0 11
1862	680,699	14,605,140	4 13 2½	0 11
1863	704,846	14,936,222	4 14 4½	0 11¼
1864	723,144	15,267,304	4 14 8¾	0 11¼
1865	731,855	15,598,386	4 13 10	0 11¼
1866	739,315	15,929,468	4 12 9¾	0 11
1867	757,212	16,260,554	4 13 1½	0 11
1868	795,483	16,775,048	4 14 10	0 11¼
1869	821,184	17,289,542	4 14 11¾	0 11¼
1870	818,390	17,804,036	4 11 11	0 11
1871	810,456	18,318,530	4 8 5¾	0 10¾
1872	809,690	18,833,028	4 5 11¾	0 10¾
1873	801,895	19,199,665	4 3 6¼	0 10
1874	799,130	19,566,302	4 1 8	0 9¾
1875	794,916	19,932,940	3 19 9	0 9½

The burden of pauperism is thus relatively to the national wealth a far lighter burden to-day than it was a quarter of a century ago; and as our wealth increases with more rapidity than our population, each member of the community is yearly a richer man, and better able to bear the burdens which the possession of wealth implies. The man who had £1 only of assessable rental in 1850, had to pay a whole shilling towards the maintenance of the poor; now on his £2 he has to pay at the rate of ninepence halfpenny only. But while the value of his real property has

just doubled since the Poor-Law Act was passed, his total income is now probably four or five times as much as it was then. To speak of the poor-rate, therefore, as "a cancer eating into the productive power of the country" is manifestly absurd.

Some observations have been made on the expense of management in Scotland. This table appears to show that in comparison with England and Ireland it cannot be assailed on the ground of extravagance.

MANAGEMENT.

	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.
Management, and other expenses connected with management, excluding medical relief,	£2,132,611	£273,380	£122,463
Total amount expended, excluding medical relief and buildings,	£7,963,536	£835,463	£760,146
Percentage of expense of management on total amount expended, excluding medical relief and buildings,	£26 7 0	£32 7 0	£16 1 0

Nor can it be alleged that Scotland obtains an undue share of the imperial funds, as is quite plainly proved by this table, which gives the contributions from the Exchequer received by the three countries. It has been urged with much force that no good reason exists why Scotland, which contributes so

largely to the national revenue, should receive only £10,000 for medical relief, and should have no share whatever in the liberal provision that is made in England and Ireland for parochial audit, the education of pauper children, and the salaries of sanitary officers.

SUBVENTIONS FROM THE EXCHEQUER.

	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.
Pauper lunatics, . . .	£330,000	£75,000	£60,000
Medical relief, . . .	127,000	69,438	10,000
Audit,	19,800	4,900	Nil.
Education,	36,500	8,328	Nil.
Total under Poor-Law, .	£513,300	£157,666	£70,000
<i>Add under Public Health and Registration Acts.</i>			
Medical officers and salaries } under Public Health Act, }	£65,000	Not stated.	Nil.
Public vaccinations, . .	6,000	Not stated.	Nil.
Registration,	10,000	Not stated.	Nil.
Grand total,	£594,300	...	£70,000

II. THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF PAUPERS.

And here again it will be interesting, in the first place, to compare the Scotch with the English returns.

The average number of paupers of all classes at one time in receipt of relief in England during last year was 827,446, out of a population estimated at 23,580,000. There was thus 1 pauper in every 28 or 29 of the population. The number of paupers of all classes in receipt of relief in Scotland on 14th May 1875 was 105,603, comprising 65,661 registered paupers with 35,930 dependants, and 2191 casual paupers with 1821 dependants. The estimated population of Scotland for 1874-5 was 3,479,106, so that there was 1 pauper in every 33 of the population. There is thus a considerable balance in favour of Scotland; but it must be kept in view that the able-bodied poor (who are relieved in England) have technically no legal claim to relief in Scotland. In point of fact, however, able-bodied *men* are largely relieved in Scotland,—parochial boards being practically compelled to keep even able-bodied men from dying of starvation;* and able-bodied women with children have in most cases a legal right to relief. The great majority of the able-bodied who receive relief in England belong to the latter class; for whereas, on 1st July 1874, 81,000

* Even from a legal point of view, a few days of illness or starvation will, it is presumed, produce the necessary disability.

“able-bodied” females and 187,000 “able-bodied” children received relief, the number of “able-bodied” males above 16 years of age receiving relief on that day was only 20,000. It is stated in the last report of the Local Government Board (page xiv, footnote) that the adult able-bodied class of paupers includes those “receiving relief on account of the sickness of themselves or their families, and a large number of widows.” It would appear, therefore, that the number of persons in receipt of relief in England, who would not be deemed legal objects of relief in Scotland, cannot exceed 25,000 or 30,000—say 27,000; which would leave about 800,000 paupers, or 1 pauper in 29 of the population of England, as compared with 1 pauper in 33 of the population of Scotland.

NUMBER OF PAUPERS.

	England.	Scotland.
Population,	23,580,000	3,479,106
Number of paupers,	827,446	105,603
Ratio per cent,	3.5	3.0
Being 1 in	28.4	32.9

It is to be observed, moreover, that (as the valuation has outstripped the expenditure) the increase of

population has been more rapid in proportion than the increase of paupers. This table gives the population, actual and estimated, and the number of paupers in receipt of relief on one day during each of the last seventeen years.

PAUPERISM AND POPULATION.

Year.	Number of Paupers of all classes, including Dependants, in receipt of Relief on the same day, 14th May.	Estimated Population.	Ratio per cent of persons in receipt of Parochial Relief to Population.
1859	122,013	3,027,582	4.0
1860	120,906	3,044,937	3.9
1861	124,191	3,062,294	4.0
1862	126,319	3,092,066	4.0
1863	127,560	3,121,838	4.0
1864	127,714	3,151,610	4.0
1865	128,343	3,181,382	4.0
1866	126,042	3,211,154	3.9
1867	128,361	3,240,926	3.9
1868	136,231	3,270,698	4.1
1869	136,065	3,300,470	4.1
1870	132,466	3,330,242	3.9
1871	129,257	3,360,018	3.8
1872	122,737	3,389,790	3.6
1873	116,107	3,419,562	3.3
1874	110,239	3,449,334	3.2
1875	105,603	3,479,106	3.0

But this table establishes a good deal more than the proposition that the population of the country is increasing more rapidly than its pauperism. It establishes, moreover, that there has been, since the Act of 1845 really came into full play, an absolute decrease in the number of paupers chargeable to the rates in Scotland. In 1859, out of a population of about three

millions, there were 122,000 paupers ; in 1875, out of a population of about three millions and a half, there were 105,000 only ; and for the past five or six years the decrease has been steady and persistent. It is stated in the Thirtieth Annual Report of the Board of Supervision, that the number of poor in receipt of relief during each of the two past years "is smaller than it ever has been since the Poor-Law Act of 1845 came into operation."

But we are asked to go back to a period anterior to the passing of the Act, and to compare the numbers then chargeable with the numbers annually relieved since 1845. Well, we do so, and the results which we obtain are, to say the least, somewhat surprising. It must be kept in mind that the returns of the number of poor obtained before the passing of the Poor-Law Amendment Act are confessedly imperfect: they give a most inadequate idea of the actual number of persons who, in one shape or other, received relief. But even on the assumption that they are substantially accurate, this general conclusion may be stated in the broadest terms : that in proportion to population, the number of paupers of all classes who now receive relief is not greater than it was during the forty years that preceded the passing of the Act. The statistics may not be entirely reliable ; we should probably get nearer the truth by adding on a few thousands to the earlier returns ; but, such as they

are, they embrace nearly the whole of the present century (the return of 1817 having been based upon the average of the preceding ten years), and the opponents of the Act, at any rate, have no right and no interest to repudiate the returns, which can only be validly objected to on the ground that they are incomplete: and that is an objection which they, of course, do not care to maintain.

The number of poor, excluding dependants—on the average of the ten years ending in 1817—was 44,199 in a population of 1,704,987—being 1 in 39.9 of the population.

The number of poor on the average of the three years 1835-6-7 was 79,429, being 1 in 29 of the population of 1831. (But in this number a certain proportion of dependants are said to be included.)

The Poor-Law Amendment Act came into operation in the autumn of 1845, and on the 1st of February following, the number of poor on the roll was 69,432, or 1 in 38 of the population of 1841.

In May 1855, the number of poor on the roll was 79,887, or 1 in 36 of the population of 1851.

In May 1865, the number of poor on the roll was 77,895, or 1 in 39 of the population of 1861.

In May 1875, the number of poor on the roll was 65,661, or 1 in 51 of the population of 1871.

It thus appears that relatively to population the number of paupers is greatly less than it was sixty or seventy years ago. In 1815 there was 1 pauper in every 39; in 1875, 1 pauper in every 51 of the population. Under the operation of the Poor-Law Amendment Act our pauper population has not increased—on the contrary, it has diminished; and had the earlier returns been completed, it would have been found

that the real decrease was even more considerable than the apparent.

There are other considerations which must not be omitted when dealing with the question of numbers. Before the passing of the Act, little or no provision was made for lunatic paupers. The pauper lunatic, as a burden upon the rates, is the creation of the Poor-Law and Lunacy Acts. Orphan and deserted children are now wisely and liberally provided for at the public expense: before the passing of the Poor-Law Act they were almost entirely neglected. And finally, the great Irish immigration did not commence until after 1845—until after the Irish famine. These three classes, which were scarcely in existence in 1817, now constitute a formidable division of our pauper army. It will be interesting and instructive to see how the numbers would stand if these three classes (over whose numbers, be it observed, the poor-law administrator has little or no control—their existence being independent altogether of the wisdom or want of wisdom with which the law is administered) were excluded from the enumeration.

On the 14th of May 1875 there were chargeable to parochial boards in Scotland—

Lunatics,	6,250
Orphans and deserted children,	6,096
Natives of Ireland (of whom 487 were lunatics),*	14,197
Total,	<u>26,543</u>

* The return of natives of Ireland is taken as at 31st December 1874.

The number of poor of all classes, including dependants, who were in receipt of relief on that day was	105,603
The estimated population of Scotland in 1875 was	3,479,106
So that the ratio of persons in receipt of relief to population was	1 in 32.9
Deducting natives of Ireland, the number of persons in receipt of relief was	91,606
The ratio to the estimated population being	1 in 37.9
Deducting natives of Ireland and pauper lunatics, the number of persons in receipt of relief was	85,356
The ratio to the estimated population being .	1 in 40.7
Deducting natives of Ireland, pauper lunatics, and orphan and deserted children, the number of persons in receipt of relief was	79,290
The ratio to the estimated population being, .	1 in 43.8
But in the returns of 1817 the dependants were not included ; and if, along with the above classes, we exclude the dependants of paupers not already enumerated, the number of persons in receipt of relief was	47,678
The ratio to the estimated population being .	1 in 72.9

There were therefore, on 14th May 1875 (after excluding lunatics and natives of Ireland), 47,000 adult persons receiving relief in Scotland. In 1817 the adult persons in receipt of relief numbered 44,199. During the intervening sixty years, while the population has doubled, the pauperism has remained stationary (or nearly so) ; that is to say, in other words, that relatively to population the pauperism of Scotland has undergone a vast diminution. The import of these figures is unmistakable. They may be left to speak for themselves without further comment. A long succession of prosperous years has enabled

numbers of Scotch-born men and women (not incapacitated by physical or mental disease) to rise out of the slough of pauperism, and to support themselves by honest and well-remunerated work.

Before leaving our figures it may be interesting to compare the Scotch with the metropolitan returns of pauperism, and this table will enable us to do so.

LONDON AND SCOTTISH PAUPERISM COMPARED.

1874-5.	London.	Scotland.	Difference in favour of Scotland.
Population,	3,252,358	3,360,018	...
Number of paupers, . .	115,008	105,603	...
Ratio per cent of population, {	3.5, or 1 in 28.2	3.1, or 1 in 31.8	} 0.4
Valuation,	£20,714,967	£19,932,940	...
Expenditure (including build- ings in Scotland), }	£1,643,714	£835,306	...
Rate per cent of valuation, .	£7 18 8½	£4 3 9¾	£3 14 10¾
Rate per £ of valuation, .	£0 1 7¼	£0 0 10	£0 0 9¾
Rate per head of population,	£0 10 1¼	£0 4 11	£0 5 2¼
Allowance to paupers, . .	£961,000	£637,000	...
Other expenses,	£682,000	£197,000	...

It thus appears that (the population of London being barely equal to that of Scotland) the number of paupers in the metropolis is nearly 10,000 in excess of the number in Scotland, and the amount expended exactly double the expenditure in Scotland,—eight hundred thousand sufficing for Scotland, as compared with one million six hundred thousand expended in London.

III. THE DETERIORATION OF THE NATIONAL CHARACTER.

“ Another evil resulting from the poor-law,” says the Baird Lecturer of 1875, “ is the deterioration of the national character. A spirit of stout and sturdy independence was wont to be one of the most conspicuous and noble features of that character. Any one with true Scottish blood in his veins would have scorned the acceptance of public charity, as at once a personal degradation and a brand of disgrace upon his name and lineage. Children would have worked day and night for their parents, and for their grandfathers and grandmothers, rather than that these should come upon the parish; and a stern repudiation of all meanness and dishonour fired them with that undaunted courage, and sustained them in that frame of steady persistent perseverance, which raised

our country so very high among the other nations of the earth. Matters in this respect have, in the course of the last five-and-twenty years, changed very signally for the worse. The desertion of relations is the rule rather than the exception. The desire of honest independence has in great measure ceased to animate a large section of the population; and not only are the lowest classes of society so demoralised and dispirited that a sort of settled, sunken, downcast inertness which accepts degradation to the very verge of barbarism without a struggle to escape from it, is becoming one of their chiefest characteristics, but many in strata far above these are losing much of that self-respect, without which neither industry nor integrity, truth nor honour, courage nor independence, can continue to thrive."* Some undiscerning persons might be inclined to say that this was clerical declamation run mad—the pulpit in hysterics; but there is plenty of evidence to show that extreme views are not confined to the clergy. "Scotland," says the Cobden Club Essayist of 1875, "which, up till the Disruption of the Church in 1843, was able to sustain its poor by the church collections and voluntary subscriptions, is already worse than England in regard to pauperism, except in one thing—that the able-bodied have no claim to relief; and she owes that to the law

* Endowed Territorial Work. The Baird Lecture, 1875. By Rev. William Smith, D.D.

itself, not to its administrators. . . . And a peasantry who, in my recollection, were sensitive in the highest degree to the imputation that any of their kindred had received parish support, now too often claim it with eagerness if given in money, though they still look on the poorhouse as degrading. There never was a contrivance for rapidly sapping the honest self-dependence of the industrious poor, equal to that of committing to ecclesiastical managers the power of dispensing charity with ratepayers' money. The pecuniary burden is great, but the moral result is much more deplorable." *

It is difficult to know how to handle these confident assertions, and to deal with these eloquent jeremiads. The deterioration of the national character is a question of fact ; but it is exactly one of those " facts " about which no very direct evidence can be got. The experience of one man may lead him to believe that the national character has improved ; the experience of another may lead him to believe that it has decayed ; but the experience of each of us is so limited that these individual *impressions* (for they are nothing more) must count for little. We can only say that some of the best judges appear to differ from the Baird Lecturer and the Cobden Club Essayist ; that some of the most experienced poor-law officials are of

* Local Government and Taxation — Scotland. Cobden Club Essays, 1875. P. 139.

opinion that there is really no change of spirit, either for the better or the worse, in the class from which our paupers are drawn ;—that class, before the passing of the Act, being ready to take as much as they could manage to get, and being ready to do so still. It is to be observed, however, that, in so far as the Baird Lecturer is concerned, this notion of the national decay appears to be mainly an *inference* which he draws from certain figures on which he relies. These figures are of the most astonishing kind. “In a quarter of a century from the passing of the latest poor-law, the number of registered paupers in Scotland was more than quintupled—that is, increased from under 20,000 to upwards of 100,000. In the same time the casual poor relieved increased from 16,000 to above 40,000.”* The registered paupers quintupled since the passing of the Act! 40,000 casual paupers! Why, in the very year to which he must refer (1871—twenty-five years from the passing of the Act), the whole casual poor amounted only to 3134 adults, with 2845 dependants—5979 in all! So it really need not surprise us that a Baird Lecturer (struggling painfully and heroically with “not less than six lectures”) should, with such astounding figures in his head, have come to the conclusion that the country was going to the dogs.†

* Baird Lecture, p. 243.

† The Baird Lecturer’s extraordinary blunder may perhaps be accounted for in this way. He may have taken the gross number of

But even these considerations do not furnish a complete explanation of the language that has been used. The truth is that it rests at last upon the radical delusion that what are called "alms" are, somehow or other, superior in their nature and effects to legal relief. The vagrant who gets a casual shilling from a voluntary "charity" is thereby purified and elevated; the sick mechanic who receives substantial maintenance from the parochial funds is thereby degraded and brutalised. So that, trying to formulate into logical shape the excited invective of the pulpit, we arrive, in brief, at these two propositions:—

1st. That inadequate relief is beneficial; that adequate relief is detrimental.

2d. That inadequate relief, bestowed capriciously, and without due and discriminating inquiry, is beneficial; that adequate relief, granted systematically,

cases of chargeability throughout the year, instead of the mean number of paupers, as ascertained by a census taken on three or more days during the year. Many registered paupers of course became chargeable more than once during the year, and the same pauper may figure in the returns as three, four, or six paupers. As regards the vagrant casual pauper who is relieved during the year by twenty or thirty inspectors, he, of course, appears as twenty or thirty paupers; and the other paupers who are, for various reasons, on the casual roll, are generally, before the close of the year, transferred to the ordinary roll, so that they appear in both rolls. If we were to adopt this principle of computation, we should come to the conclusion that the number of paupers in Ireland in 1874 amounted to 320,160 (the numbers relieved during the year), whereas the average daily number amounted to 77,432 only. —Third Report of Local Government Board, Ireland, pages 12 and 17.

and after skilled and searching investigation, is detrimental.

“There are other duties,” a rising divine of the English Church observes, in a remarkable volume of discourses, “dictated by Christ’s spirit, yet not mentioned in the Bible; and there is need of faith and judgment to hear and interpret rightly these promptings of the Spirit. Take, for instance, Christ’s modern teaching on the duty of almsgiving. When we find by experience, or are told on adequate authority, that indiscriminate charity encourages idleness and imposture, while it discourages honest industry; that it propagates the plague of pauperism, even to the third and fourth generation; that it degrades and demoralises the whole nation,—then does not Christ, through such facts as these, distinctly say to us, ‘Give *not* to every one that asketh of thee’? In the early Church, society was simpler, knowledge less extensive than it is now. The one obvious way of showing one’s love for one’s fellow-man was, in those days, assisting the poor and healing the sick. Consequently, these duties are mentioned over and over again in the pages of the New Testament. But now, society has become more complex; our knowledge has greatly increased, and has taught us much that was then unknown of the causes of poverty and of sickness. We have now learned that almsgiving is a very dangerous means of relieving poverty, that it

often does more harm than good, by diminishing self-respect and discouraging thrift and industry ; we have learned to prefer means less attractive and picturesque—more indirect and tardy in their operations ; means likely rather to affect the future than the present generation, but in the end calculated to prove more permanently effective.” *

These sentences seem to us to go to the root of the matter. The charity of a nation may express itself in a poor-law as freely as, and more wisely than, in the unsystematic benevolence of volunteers. In simpler times, when each man in a community knew his neighbour by headmark, a legal organisation for the distribution of relief was possibly unnecessary. Those who were “able” maintained those who were “unable.” But in our complicated society it is impossible to distribute our alms in this direct fashion. An intelligent and organised machinery is indispensable to prevent our charity from becoming a curse both to the recipients and to ourselves ; and the poor-law properly provides that machinery. But it must be plain to every person of common intelligence that skilful organisation does not rob our charity of any virtue it would otherwise possess, and that there is no more degradation in receiving alms from the state than in receiving it from your next-door neighbour. On the contrary, the appeal to voluntary benevolence

* Abbott's Cambridge Sermons, pp. 84 and 129.

—that is to say, *begging*—must, we should judge, from the circumstances attending its exercise, be far more demoralising, in every way and to all concerned, than the receipt of a fixed provision from the community.

We therefore come to the conclusion that in none of these respects has any case against the Act been made out. This is substantially the conclusion at which, in 1871, after protracted inquiry, the Committee of the House of Commons arrived. It is to be noted, moreover, that the evidence taken by the Committee conclusively establishes that the evils which the Act of 1845 was designed to cure have in point of fact been cured. £35,000 is spent on medical relief; not less than £60,000 on the education of pauper children; the cost of the lunatic poor is £144,000. Before 1845 the sum expended on medical relief, pauper education, and the lunatic poor was a mere trifle; it now amounts to about £240,000. Yet the money is well spent if the poor are provided with medical appliances, if the children are educated, if the pauper lunatics are decently fed and housed and clothed. The expenditure on administration—another virtually new head of expenditure—has reached £116,000,—a large sum, but small in proportion to the sum expended in England, and likely to prove remunerative in the long-run; for, to secure that relief be duly and economically administered, it is necessary that the officers should be men of capa-

city, humanity, and experience ; and such men cannot be had unless a fair day's wage is paid for a fair day's work. Nor can a poor-law be effectively administered in a parish without a poorhouse. As there were only six or eight poorhouses throughout Scotland before 1845, a sum of above a million sterling has been expended on new buildings,—a heavy debt, which is being wiped off by annual payments, and which in a few years will have been discharged. And lastly, the poor have now what they had not before, adequate relief—relief sufficient to keep body and soul together, real and not illusory allowances—paid out of the rates, and duly accounted for to the ratepayers.* These are immense reforms ; and looking to the experience of other countries, it cannot be said that the bill of costs is excessive.

* The following figures are extremely satisfactory, as showing not only that substantial relief is now given to the poor, but that the amount of the allowances has increased year by year with the general rise of prices :—

Average annual cost of maintenance of each registered pauper.

1859.	1862.	1865.	1868.	1871.	1875.
£6 10 7½	£6 18 8	£7 8 6¼	£7 18 2½	£8 4 11¼	£9 8 6¼

“I affirm,” the Baird Lecturer says, “that the cases of hardship acknowledged to have existed under the old inadequate system are not unparalleled, *either in number or in severity*, under the system of compulsory assessments, poorhouse tests, and humiliating badges of degradation” (p. 262). The answer is obvious. No such cases are known to the poor-law authorities ; and if the Baird Lecturer knows of them, why does not he apply without delay to the nearest inspector of poor?

But while there is nothing in the facts which we have been considering to induce us to "despair of the republic," it would be foolish to maintain that we have succeeded in obtaining the best possible system of poor-law administration, or that further reform is unnecessary or undesirable. We are not sure that several of the proposals which have been made are wise or just, or would be attended with advantage to the public; but there are various improvements—mainly administrative—which might probably conduce to efficiency and economy. Something might be done to improve the composition of the governing bodies; something might be done to enforce adherence to principle in the administration of relief; something more might be done in the way of reducing the class from which our pauper population is recruited.

1. *The Reorganisation of the Administrative Bodies.*

No one, we think, will deny that the parochial board is capable of being improved; but, on the other hand, it is difficult to see, if we abolished it entirely, what kind of body we could get to fill its place. The experiment of a purely elective body has been lately tried in connection with education; but the School Board does not appear, in popular estimation at least, to be a success. *The real difficulty is to secure the services of educated men who are sufficiently*

intelligent and independent, and sufficiently interested in the subject. If such men are available, it really does not matter very much by what sort of qualification or process of selection we put them into office. There is, however, unfortunately, not much guidance to be got either from our economical or ecclesiastical mentors on this quite vital matter.

The Cobden Club Essayist proposes that we should improve the constitution of the parochial board by excluding the members of the kirk-session, and by increasing the number of elected members. It is, in his view, "ecclesiastical management" that has played the mischief. He assures us, at the same time, that the law has been most economically and most efficiently administered in the parishes which have not adopted a system of compulsory assessment under the Act of 1845. As these parishes are, for the most part, pastoral and thinly peopled—few of them having more than 400 inhabitants, and the population of the whole being under 60,000—it is obvious that any broad philosophical conclusions drawn from their experience must rest on an exceptionally narrow basis. But even if his allegations could be verified, they would not advance his argument, seeing that in these parishes there are no elected members upon the board, and that the management is virtually in the hands of the minister and kirk-session. The truth is, however, that in not a few country parishes the

members of the kirk-session are the only men who can be got to do the work, and that, if they were excluded, it would be done either by the inspector or not at all. The Cobden Club Essayist appears to fancy that the Board of Supervision, for some wicked design of their own, have unfairly limited the number of elected members,* and that there is an eager scramble for the few seats that have been allocated to the ratepayers. Every one conversant with the matter knows that this is a mistake—that in many parishes the difficulty is to get the electors to attend the meetings at which their representatives are chosen, or, when they do attend, to get men—good, bad, or indifferent—who will allow themselves to be nominated.

The ultimate object, however, aimed at by the Cobden Club Essayist, is the extension of the administrative areas. This was once a favourite nostrum with poor-law reformers, but it has come of late to be regarded by them as a rather old-fashioned shibboleth.† Not the extension, but the subdivision, of

* The Board of Supervision required, of course, to lay down some rule for their guidance; and that which they took—viz., the population of each parish as the criterion of the ordinary number of members to be elected—appears the most natural and reasonable in the circumstances.

† The main argument for larger areas is based upon the expense and trouble which the present system occasions inspectors and parochial boards when dealing with cases of disputed settlement. The total annual expense connected with such cases does not amount to more than two thousand pounds; and though the trouble occasioned is con-

poor-law areas is the view now commonly advocated by those who may be regarded as the advance-guard of the party, and who can point to the experiments which have been and are being made in various Continental towns.

While the Cobden Club Essayist would improve the administrative bodies by excluding the ecclesiastical element, the Baird Lecturer would improve them by excluding the lay element. He would abolish the poor-law as well as the parochial board, and leave the Church to provide for the poor. "I am satisfied," he remarks, "that the only thorough cure for pauperism in its most degrading forms, and the only reasonable and Christian mode of dealing with and caring for the poor, is to be found in the gentle ministrations of religion, bringing the power of Christian charity to bear, through adequate organisation, on every individual case." * It is no use tilting against windmills, and argument need not be directed against a proposition which is intrinsically impracticable. The scheme of the Baird Lecturer is a devout imagination. The Church has been tried, and has been found wanting. The old Scotch system of relief was truly administered by the clergy, and it broke down disastrously and completely. The condition of the Scotch poor considerable, it is ridiculous to say that in any parish in Scotland "there are commonly between two and three thousand undetermined cases of settlement."

* Baird Lecture, p. 276.

prior to 1845 had become intolerable, and it is impossible for any Scotchman to read the evidence taken by the Royal Commission without a blush. Without, however, going back upon what is matter of history, it is perfectly clear that in the year of grace 1876 the task of providing adequate relief for the poor—a task of enormous magnitude and urgency—is one that not only must, but ought to, be undertaken by the State itself. Although the Established Church is now a far less powerful body than it was prior to the schism of 1843, the argument need not be rested upon the utter inadequacy of any machinery which it could provide. We go further, and we say that there is no reason in the nature of the case why such a duty should be intrusted to the clergy. The relief of the poor is essentially a civil duty,—essentially a civil duty, for the due discharge of which the State is responsible in exactly the same sense that it is responsible for the health and education and protection of the public. To place the public health under the charge of an ecclesiastical court would be manifestly absurd; and it is only an accidental association that prevents us from seeing the incongruity as plainly in the one case as in the other. But, as we have said, argument is really unnecessary,—a profound misunderstanding of the progress of religious opinion, as well as of the increase of ecclesiastical division, is involved in any such proposition. The nation will

never consent to create a new class of religious disabilities; and the inability to obtain relief, except as a "common beggar" at the church-door, or as a member in possession of what are called "church privileges," would certainly constitute a religious disability of a very serious kind.

Some of the suggestions made by the Committee of the House of Commons over which Mr Craufurd presided, and which were embodied in the bill which he introduced (the reader will find them in a footnote), appear to be sound and sensible, and worthy of earnest consideration.*

* "The number of owners sitting at the parochial board without election to be reduced by raising the present qualification of £20. Occupiers of lands and heritages to be also members of the parochial board without election, the qualification in value in their case to be not less than shall be fixed in the case of owners. All ratepayers who are not members of the parochial board, as at present, to elect representatives: the number to be fixed in each case by the Board of Supervision. No member of the kirk-session to be, as such, a member of the board. No one to be elected as representative unless he be assessed to the poor and pay assessment to the parish. Elected members to remain in office for three years; one-third, as near as may be, going out of office each year. The Board of Supervision to have power to make rules for conducting elections, as they now have in burghal parishes. Absent heritors may be represented at the board by their factors or agents. No mandates to be allowed otherwise."—Report of Select Committee on Poor-Law, Scotland, 1871 (p. 11). The broad results would be to exclude the class of small owners, and to substitute the class of large occupiers; the small owners who are now members in virtue of their property qualification being hereafter represented by elected members. There can be little doubt that a high-minded body of men like the clergy of the Established Church, would cheerfully renounce the invidious privilege which they accidentally possess,—the right to tax and administer taxes, while themselves exempt from taxation.

2. *Stricter Adherence to Principle in the Administration of the Law.*

Strict adherence to principle in the determination of true from false poverty is the secret of successful poor-law administration. The Baird Lecturer, when denouncing the poorhouse, becomes almost alarmingly eloquent and inaccurate.* Yet it is most true that, upon the whole, the poorhouse test of poverty—rough and ready though it be—works well. It separates the chaff from the wheat with remarkable precision and without undue severity. It ought never to be allowed, except with certain well-marked classes of applicants, to supersede close and vigilant investigation,—it must not become the staff on which indolence is permitted to lean. But there are innumerable cases in which the closest investigation is at fault, and in these its use is invaluable.

The Board of Supervision state in their latest

* “With our vast palatial Bastiles of poorhouses *incarcerating myriads of miserable children*, and doing their worst to incapacitate them for anything but lives of destitution, degradation, or crime, and crowding hosts of adult paupers of every class and character—the tolerably respectable and the utterly corrupt—in *one great pestilential stew*,” &c., &c. (p. 261). The Lecturer does not seem to be aware that a very small number of pauper children (and even these temporarily only) are retained in the poorhouse ; nor that in all “the vast palatial Bastiles” (in other words, in all the considerable poorhouses) recently erected, the inmates are classified according to moral character, &c.

report that for some years their officers "have been carefully examining the registers of poor, with the view more especially of drawing the attention of the parochial boards in their respective districts to those cases in which it appeared advisable that outdoor relief should be withdrawn and the offer of the poorhouse substituted. The report of the officer is sent down by us to the parochial board, is considered by them, and a copy of their minute is forwarded by the chairman or the inspector for the information of the Board. In any case where a considerable number of paupers is struck off the outdoor roll, the inspector of the parish is communicated with, after a reasonable interval, with the view of ascertaining what effect the action of the parochial board has produced—whether the persons so dealt with have been again admitted to outdoor relief—or whether, permanently ceasing to be a burden on the ratepayers, they are maintaining themselves, or are maintained by the relatives legally or morally liable for their support. The information we have received appears to show—1st, That a judicious but firm and vigilant use of the poorhouse test has a marked effect in diminishing the amount of pauperism in a district. 2d, That it is not attended with any evil consequences, such as the increase of crime or vagrancy. 3d, That the great majority of the paupers by whom the offer of the poorhouse has

been refused become self-supporting, or are supported by their relatives." *

Testimony of this kind is invaluable ; and the unwillingness of many parochial boards to apply the test must be overcome,—if possible by persuasion, if necessary by legislation. The experience of the Board of Supervision, however, appears to show that these bodies sin rather from ignorance than from wilfulness ; and a code of simple and clearly-expressed instructions, similar to those suggested by one of the officers of the Board (Mr M'Neill) might prove extremely useful.† Parochial boards, moreover, should

* Some of the cases will be found in the Appendix.

† "The rules in question have been called new ; they are, however, as old as the poor-law in their concrete form, and in their principles a great deal older than any legislative enactment. That there may be no doubt as to what I have advised and shall continue to urge on all parochial boards, I here state briefly the mode in which, as I think, indoor relief should be administered : 1. No outdoor relief whatever should be given to mothers of illegitimate children, whose sole cause of disability arises from the fact of their having such children, and whose health may admit of their removal to the poorhouse ; the same rule should be acted on in the case of widows who may fall into immoral habits after the death of their husbands. When a parochial board is led, either by apprehension of the cost of maintaining a large family in the poorhouse or by any other reason, to make an exception, much of the benefit derived from previous or subsequent firmness is sacrificed. 2. Deserted wives should almost invariably be tested by an offer of the poorhouse. It may be subject for consideration how long indoor relief should be continued in their case, but all experienced officials are agreed as to the course to be pursued in the first instance. 3. When applicants are known to have families able to support them, an offer of indoor relief should invariably precede any correspondence

be required to explain in their minutes the grounds upon which in any case outdoor relief is granted; and if these are found to be insufficient or unsatisfactory, the amount should be disallowed. Such a change, however, would require legislation. There is, unfortunately, no system of Governmental audit in Scotland; and until an efficient audit is provided, the demoralising effects of unconscientious and indiscriminate relief must continue to be felt in many districts.

The evils of a lax system of administration are so manifest that there appears to be a strong and growing feeling that outdoor relief (unless in the most exceptional case) should be declared illegal. Extreme

with the children; and if it should be discovered that paupers already on the roll have such families, a date should be fixed by the parochial board (having regard to the residences of the children), and should be intimated to the pauper, as that on which his outdoor aliment will terminate. Thus, if the children are stated to be in America, three months might reasonably be allowed him for correspondence with them, or six months if they reside in the Australian colonies. But the parochial board should not be deterred by alleged ignorance of the addresses of children; for it will usually be found that where the pauper is himself ignorant of his son's address, the other children at home, or some other relatives or friends, maintain correspondence with him. It is not now doubtful that numerous cases of pauperism burden our rolls in which parents, already well cared for by their children, solicit and obtain parochial relief. 4. A large number of persons in Scotland receive relief as paupers whose collateral relatives are well able to support them. In numerous instances it has been my duty to call the attention of parochial boards to the case of paupers whose brothers, uncles, nephews, &c., occupied comfortable or prosperous positions. I admit that every such example must be considered on its own merits, but I am fully persuaded that a judicious use of the poorhouse as a test in a

views and measures are proverbially dangerous ; and it is probable that if the workhouse or the poorhouse was made the only form of relief, we would quickly find that (to borrow a homely illustration) we had got from the frying-pan into the fire. A system of Procrustean vigour and rigour would undoubtedly break down, and the inevitable reaction would be disastrous.

It is said, however, that the experience of Ireland establishes that such a system is practicable, effective, and economical. Let us see what the experience of Ireland amounts to.

The total sum expended in 1874 upon the relief and management of the Irish poor (in Ireland)

large number of these cases would induce the relatives to perform the clear moral duty which devolves upon them ; and therefore, in my opinion, parochial boards should resolve to withhold outdoor relief in all such till it has been shown to their satisfaction that the relative believed to be able to support the pauper is already relieving the rates in some similar direction, or is otherwise incapacitated. These are the leading principles which I think needful, and the example of Penninghame shows that the boards which adopt them need not fear for the result. A single woman may enter the poorhouse with four or five children : still, let them persevere ; and if they do so, they may be assured that no similar applications will be made in their parishes. Temporarily they may be losers ; but in the end, the rates, if not also the percentage of illegitimate births, will show that their firmness has been judicious. Again, an old couple may accept indoor relief, and the test in their case may appear to fail in producing from their children the needful assistance. The sum for which those children then become liable is considerable ; and, if vigorous proceedings are instituted against them, they may speedily find it more to their advantage to support their parents out of the poorhouse than to defend themselves in a court of law.”—Thirtieth Report of the Board of Supervision, p. 75.

amounted to £817,281. If to this we add the expenses under the Vaccination and Medical Charities Act (£140,922) and the expenses of superannuation (£8182), we find that the total expenditure closely approached One Million Pounds per annum (£966,385). The annual value of the property rated was £13,449,553, and the rate of expenditure per pound of the valuation was about 1s. 6d. In Scotland, as we have seen, the total expenditure (exclusive of buildings) during the same period was £794,917, and the rate per pound of the valuation was 9½d.

It is plain that the Irish system, whatever its other advantages may be, is *not* economical.

On the other hand, it is as plain that, in proportion to population, the number of paupers chargeable in Scotland is considerably in excess of the number chargeable in Ireland.

But if the comparison had been made six or seven years ago, it would have been found that the excess of Scotch over Irish paupers was much greater than it is now. In other words, while the pauperism of Scotland (and of England) during the interval has been steadily decreasing, the pauperism of Ireland has been as steadily increasing. The tide which has been ebbing with us has been advancing with them. In 1871-72 they had 68,000 paupers, in 1872-73 they had 73,000, in 1873-74 they had 76,000, and last year they had 77,000—an increase in four years of 9000.

In Scotland, on the other hand, the number of paupers has decreased from 136,000 in 1869-70 to 105,000 in 1874-75—a decrease of 31,000. The Irish expenditure has increased from £798,000 in 1870 to £966,000 in 1874—an increase of £168,000; the Scotch expenditure has fallen from £821,000 in 1869 to £794,000 in 1874—a decrease of £27,000. Should these proportions of increase and decrease be maintained for a few years longer, the Scotch paupers will not be more numerous than the Irish, while the Irish expenditure will be enormously greater.

What is the explanation of these figures? They cannot be properly appreciated unless we understand the history of Irish poor-law administration during the past twenty years.

Twenty years ago the Irish system was essentially one of indoor relief. Outdoor relief was the rare exception. The guardians, dealing with a people tremendously demoralised by the famine and by the pauperising agencies which it had called into play, were resolved to maintain their poor in the workhouse, and in the workhouse only. For some years they nominally succeeded in doing so. But in course of time doubts arose as to the policy and necessity of enforcing a system of such extreme severity. A vast number of the poor would not enter the workhouses (which were made as unattractive as possible); and in many districts, as every tourist must remem-

ber, the country swarmed with beggars. The guardians relaxed their vigilance; average human nature could not maintain the incessant struggle which was required to drive the needy Irish peasantry into asylums which they detested. The consequence is that, aided by some changes in the law, the Irish has ceased to be (what it once was) a system of indoor relief. In 1857 about 1000 paupers only received outdoor relief; in 1874 the number had increased to 31,000. This table* shows the progress of the change of system which has been gradually taking place:—

Year.	INDOOR.		OUTDOOR.	
	Paupers.	Expenditure.	Paupers.	Expenditure.
1857	50,665	£292,685	1,096	£2,412
1860	42,758	£272,682	2,093	£5,514
1865	52,121	£365,180	12,013	£25,333
1870	50,964	£381,884	21,326	£59,181
1874	47,113	£457,944	30,928	£93,587

These figures seem to prove that, with the best will

* The table has been compiled from the Reports of the Poor-Law Commissioners; but it must be regarded as an approximation only, as the dates of the returns of the numbers do not precisely correspond with those of the expenditure.

in the world, a system which restricts relief to the workhouse cannot be enforced. It is true that the poor who receive indoor relief are still in excess of those in receipt of outdoor relief, and that the outdoor allowances are of the smallest. £93,000 are distributed among 31,000 paupers, which gives an average allowance of £3 per annum to each—that is at the rate of 1s. 0¾d. per week, or less than twopence per day. It is difficult to understand how soul and body can be kept together on this miserable pittance; but it is possible that it may be given like the old Scotch badge, as “an acknowledgment of poverty,”—a sort of begging licence entitling the holder to eke out his income by any shifts he can devise. This was one of the intolerable grievances which the Act of 1845 was designed to remove, and it cannot be said that any poor-law is efficient which encourages such a state of things.

With all these drawbacks, it is still true that the number of Irish paupers (*in Ireland*) is even yet, in comparison with the English and the Scotch, remarkably small; and we are entitled to say, that the workhouse test as presently in use—that is to say, its moderate and judicious use, not as the sole, but as an alternative form of relief—partly accounts for this result. But we must not forget, moreover, that the Irish machinery of management is immensely costly—the cost of management in Ireland

being more than double the cost of management in Scotland. The inspection and supervision must consequently, we should suppose, be more minute and thorough in Ireland than in Scotland; and thorough supervision is essential to economical administration,—if by economical administration we mean, not the reduction of expenditure, but the reduction of pauperism. Some persons would argue that Irish management must be extravagant, seeing that it requires £265,000 to manage 77,000 paupers, whereas in Scotland £116,000 only is expended on the management of 105,000 paupers. But while in mercantile affairs such reasoning is valid, it must be constantly kept in mind that in poor-law matters the object to be aimed at is precisely the reverse,—we do not want to increase but to reduce our business, and we must pay accordingly. To the extent that we multiply facilities for detecting fraud and imposture, to that extent it is probable that fraud and imposture will be detected, and the detection of fraud and imposture means the reduction of the roll of paupers. At the same time, it is not to be denied that Irish poor-law management (although it has the workhouse to fall back upon in every doubtful case) is tremendously costly.

Enough has been said to show that the poor-law reformer who proposes to abolish out-door relief must not rely too implicitly on the evidence alleged to be furnished by the experience of Ireland.

3. *The Reduction of the Class from which the Pauper Population is Recruited.*

Mens sana in corpore sano. What a sermon, what a volume of sermons, might be preached from these words, by one who fully recognised their immense significance! They might furnish material of a really wholesome and nutritive kind for a whole series of Essayists and Lecturers. To destroy the causes of pauperism is really to destroy whatever evil influence disables the bodies and the minds of men and women. The intemperance which ruins the health, the profligacy which transmits hereditary disease, the unwholesome sanitary conditions which taint the blood, the unwholesome moral atmosphere which enervates the conscience. The part which the poor-law administrator can take in this crusade is comparatively limited. His duties are rather of the negative than of the positive kind—the more active and immediately remunerative belonging to the reformer, the philanthropist, and the missionary.* The conscientious poor-law administrator has indeed a thankless task; one which secures the gratitude

* The Baird Lecturer does not approve of the associations which have been formed in Edinburgh and elsewhere for improving the condition of the poor;—we, on the contrary, believe that there is a wide border-land which may be properly and beneficially occupied by such associations.

neither of sentimental piety nor of unscrupulous poverty. Still there is one field of his labours which, by judicious husbandry, can be made abundantly fruitful. He can rear and educate into habits of industry, honesty, sobriety, and thrift, the children who have been cast upon his care—the children who would otherwise, by an inevitable law of nature, become the pauper army of the future. He can strike at one of the roots of the distemper.

The education and upbringing of pauper children has become one of the problems of the day. There are those who hold that the extension of the metropolitan district school system, where a vast number of children are gathered together under one roof, and subjected to strict discipline, affords the best solution of the problem ; while by others its solution is found in that system which has long prevailed in Scotland, and which (by placing the children singly or in limited numbers in the cottage of the respectable farmer or cottar, and educating them with the other children of the district at the parish school), seeks to remove the associations and to eradicate the taint of pauperism.

The Report on the Boarding-out of Pauper Children, which is reprinted in this volume, and which is the first complete official Report that has been made, appears to show that in Scotland the experiment has been attended with unqualified success.

How far is the system capable of being transplanted to England with advantage? Upon that question, rather unexpectedly, a somewhat fierce controversy has arisen.*

We are bound to say that, speaking generally, the officials of the English Local Government Board have discussed the question in a fair, cautious, and reasonable tone. The most adverse criticism, the objections in point of principle, have come, not from them, but from political and social theorists, like Lord Lyttleton and Mr Fawcett. The inspectors of the Poor-Law Board, on the other hand, appear to hold that the system is intrinsically excellent, but that the conditions of rural life in England are not yet such as to admit of its adoption throughout the country. "Assuming the benefits of the system in Scotland," Mr H. G. Bowyer observes, "to be as great as is stated, I cannot accept the fact as an argument for introducing it *as* extensively in this country. The social condition of the two is not the same. The fact that in Scotland bribery at elections is almost

* Report of Mrs Senior to Local Government Board. Observations on Mrs Senior's Report by Edward Carleton Tufnell. Letter to President of Local Government Board by Mrs Nassau Senior, being a reply to the observations of Mr Tufnell. These Reports, and others bearing on the subject, are collected in a volume entitled, 'Boarding-out and Pauper Schools,' edited by M. B. Smedley: Henry S. King & Co.: 1875.

Mrs Senior's Reports are written with great sense and force, and it is to be regretted that ill-health has compelled her to resign her appointment under the Local Government Board.

unknown, and that it is not uncommon for poor persons to stint themselves in order to send a promising son to the university, indicates such a superiority in culture and moral tone in that country as to render any argument from analogy with corresponding classes here inapplicable. When similar phenomena can be recorded in England, extensive boarding-out may be safe ; but not till then. . . . My objection to the boarding-out system is, however, not absolute, but only relative to the imperfect state of society in which it is our fate to live : and I have witnessed so great a social improvement in the country since I have been an inspector, that I can, without difficulty, anticipate a period when it will not only be practicable, but advantageous, to intrust the education and training of pauper children to the labouring classes." *

It must be admitted, however, that this fair and moderate tone has not been uniformly preserved. Mr Tufnell, whose name, we understand, is honourably associated with the organisation of the metropolitan district schools, has in a recent report not only denounced the proposal to establish the boarding-out system in England, but has availed himself of the opportunity to assail in unmeasured terms the poor-law administration of the country in which it is mainly practised.

* Fourth Annual Report of Local Government Board, p. 196.

“Scotland, which Mrs Senior brings forward to support the boarding-out system, is an example to be avoided. Thirty years ago it was perhaps the least pauperised country in Europe. Since that time it has adopted the system of outdoor relief; and Mr Chadwick, the best living authority on this subject, says, in his paper on ‘The Jurisprudence of Local Administration:’ ‘In Scotland, of all places, the system of outdoor relief fosters reckless improvidence. Despite the most desperate efforts, it is a cancer eating into the productive power of the country.’ In ten years, from 1864 to 1873, the orphans and deserted have increased from 6587 to 7590, and the relief of the poor from £770,029 to £873,375, and the rate on the annual value of real property from £8, 5s. 2½d. to £9, 7s. 4d. Some efforts have been made to stem this increase by erecting workhouses; but Mr Henley describes the children in them as ‘occupying the same yards and day-rooms as the adults, and in the majority of instances they are, when out of school, under pauper supervision.’* We well know what similar arrangements led to in England, and it is faint praise of the boarding-out system to say that it is preferable to

* Mr Peterkin has pointed out that Mr Henley does not make the general statement attributed to him; what Mr Henley says is, “occasionally” “in other cases,” &c.—See Thirtieth Report of Board of Supervision, p. 66. It is obvious that the poorhouse arrangements with regard to children would have been different if, as a rule, they had been retained in them for any time.

such indoor relief. The workhouses, however, imperfectly as they are organised, have reduced the pauperism. The number of orphans and deserted in 1871 were 7931. I will compare this with the much-abused school system in London, where the population which supplies the district and separate schools exceeds that of Scotland by about 100,000. Now, the whole number of pauper children in London, including all classes, is usually 8000; while in Scotland the last return shows the orphans and deserted alone to be 7590, and two years ago it was 7931. Mrs Senior gives a table in her report which shows the number of orphan and deserted girls in the London schools as 1847; and doubling this number for boys, the whole number of orphan and deserted in London might fairly be put at 4000—adding 300 to the boys, who always exceed girls—against nearly double that number in the smaller population in Scotland. It is clear that there are nearly double the number of this class of children thrown on the rates in Scotland than in London, and this painful result is obviously due to the boarding-out system. The only explanation that can be given of this extraordinary result is, that where boarding-out is practised, the relatives of destitute children, who would otherwise keep them, throw them on the parish, with the view of getting them back indirectly with a weekly payment. I have given below evidence to

show that such is well known to be the case in Ireland." *

In this paragraph the administration of the poor-law in Scotland is assailed in somewhat strong language, and the charges made are sufficiently serious to merit investigation. The experienced General Superintendent of the Board of Supervision in the Northern Highlands, Mr W. A. Peterkin, has examined them with care in his last half-yearly report;† and his examination appears to show that these charges are inaccurate in detail, and erroneous in substance. It must be admitted, to say the least, that in the composition of what is truly an indictment directed against the poor-law authorities in Scotland, by a gentleman who holds, or has held, office under the Poor-Law Board in England, the strict and absolute adherence to facts which should characterise official documents has not been observed.

Omitting allusions which are immaterial or irrelevant, Mr Tufnell, in effect, maintains that Scotland is an example to be avoided, in respect—(1) That Scotland, which was at one time the least pauperised country in Europe, thirty years ago adopted a system of outdoor relief; (2) That the system of outdoor relief then introduced has pauperised the people; (3) That the rate per cent on the annual value of real

* Mr Tufnell's Report, p. 27 and 28.

† Thirtieth Annual Report of Board of Supervision, p. 60.

property having in ten years increased from £8, 5s. 2½d. to £9, 7s. 4d., the system is a cancer eating into the productive power of the country ; (4) That some efforts have been made to stem this enormous increase by the erection of workhouses—and that the workhouses have had some effect, in so far at least as orphan and deserted children are concerned, seeing that their numbers have decreased from 7931 in 1871 to 7590 in 1873 ; (5) That the whole number of pauper children in London, with a population equal to that of Scotland, is 8000 only—and that the total number of orphan and deserted children in London is only 4000 ; (6) That as the number of orphan and deserted children in Scotland is close upon 8000, there are double the number of this class thrown upon the rates in Scotland than there are in London ; (7) That this painful result is undoubtedly due to the boarding-out system.

These are the material and relevant allegations ; let us now, in the briefest possible way, compare them with the facts.

1. *Scotland, which was at one time the least pauperised country in Europe, thirty years ago adopted a system of out-door relief.*

Mr Tufnell does not inform us on what authority he asserts that Scotland was at one time the least pauperised country in Europe ; but his assertion that the system of outdoor relief was adopted thirty

years ago only is an entire mistake. From the year 1579 to the year 1845 its system was one of outdoor relief. When the Poor-Law Amendment Act of 1845 was passed, there was not one poorhouse in Scotland, in the modern sense of the word; there are now sixty-two erected under the provisions of that Act—a sufficient number to enable the great majority of the parochial boards to employ the test. So that it would be really far more accurate to say that thirty years ago Scotland, for the first time, adopted a system of *indoor* relief. If it is true that thirty years ago Scotland was the least pauperised country in Europe, that desirable result must have been attained under a system of outdoor relief.

2. *The system of outdoor relief introduced thirty years ago has pauperised the people.*

We have seen, on the contrary, that the ratio of paupers to population has not been, since the passing of the Poor-Law Amendment Act, in excess of the ratio calculated at any time during the present century.

3. *The rate per cent is increasing more rapidly than the annual value of real property—it having been £9, 7s. 4d. in 1873, as against £8, 5s. 2½d. in 1864.*

The fact is, that the rate per cent in 1864 was £4, 14s. 8¾d., while in 1873 it had fallen to £4, 3s. 6¼d. The rate per cent is now less than it was in 1847.

4. *The erection of workhouses has had some effect in*

diminishing, not only the general pauperism, but the number of orphan and deserted children chargeable to the rates.

The fact is, that the number of orphan and deserted children has fluctuated considerably during the last thirty years, and no general law can be laid down. If, however, Mr Tufnell means that the poorhouse is now more frequently used for orphan and deserted children than it was some years ago, he is mistaken; for whereas, in 1867, the average number of children in the poorhouses of age to attend school was upwards of 1400, the average number now (since boarding-out has become more common) is about 900 only. The majority of these are birds of passage—the orphans and deserted being detained in the poorhouse only provisionally, and until arrangements for their removal to the country can be made.

5. *The total number of pauper children in London is 8000, and the total number of orphans and deserted is 4000.*

The fact is, that the number of orphan and deserted children relieved in London on one day in 1873 was 7849, and on one day in 1874 was 7599—nearly double the number given by Mr Tufnell.

6. *The number of orphan and deserted children in Scotland being close upon 8000, there are double the number of this class thrown upon the rates in Scotland than in London.*

To arrive at the result that there are nearly 8000 orphan and deserted pauper children in Scotland, Mr Tufnell has to take the whole number chargeable, not on one day, but *throughout the year*. But as the number chargeable in Scotland on one day does not exceed 6000, the fact is, that the number of orphan and deserted pauper children in London is about one-third greater than the number in Scotland.*

* Here are the exact figures taken from the official returns :—

Orphan and deserted children chargeable in Scotland during the year ending 14th May 1875,	7579
Orphan and deserted children chargeable on 14th May 1875,	6093
Of whom there were orphans,	4254
„ deserted children,	1839

It thus appears that the number of orphan and deserted children chargeable to parochial boards on one day in 1874-75 was only 6093, as compared with 7579, the number on the roll throughout the year. —Thirtieth Report of Board of Supervision, p. xxi. In a letter addressed by Mrs Nassau Senior to the President of the Local Government Board with reference to Mr Tufnell's Report (ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 20th April 1875), the following return obtained from the Local Government Board is given (p. xi) :—

“ Number of orphan or other children relieved without their parents in the metropolis on the 1st January and 1st July in the years 1873 and 1874 :—

1873, 1st January,	7849
„ 1st July,	7521
1874, 1st January,	7679
„ 1st July,	7599 ”

It thus appears that, while on the 14th May 1875, the total number of orphan and deserted children chargeable to parochial boards in Scotland amounted to 6093 only, the number chargeable on 1st July of the previous year to the London unions was 7599.

See also note to page 76—from which it appears that the mean number of orphans and deserted children chargeable in Scotland during 1875 was 5999.

7. This painful result is obviously due to the boarding-out system.

That the number of orphan and deserted pauper children in Scotland is greatly less than the number in London is manifest ; but we hesitate to affirm that "this painful result" is to be ascribed to the existence in London of the metropolitan district schools—that not being a matter on which, warned by Mr Tufnell's misadventures, we care to dogmatise. Still it cannot be denied that Mr Tufnell's appeal to the statistics of London pauperism has been most damaging to himself, and the institutions which he has undertaken to defend.

It is right and necessary that unfair and ill-considered charges should be refuted in the plainest possible language ; but it is a much pleasanter duty to recognise with heartiness the wise and earnest endeavours to consider the subject in all its bearings which are being made by those who are now responsible for the administration of the poor-law in England ; and such recognition is eminently due to Mr Mozley, one of the inspectors of workhouse schools under the Local Government Board, from whose last report we venture, in conclusion, to extract a few lines of very sound advice : *

* One of the difficulties attending workhouse education is very intelligently stated by Mr Mozley. After remarking that workhouse school teachers are not inferior to other teachers of elementary schools, he proceeds : "But the task is in their case more difficult ; for work-

“The boarding-out system has attracted considerable public attention during the past year. On this subject I have not much to add to what I have said in my previous reports; but one remark may perhaps be permitted to me. I conceive that sufficient distinction is not generally drawn between the adoption of the system in individual cases and its wholesale adoption. I should imagine that there are few unions in which some children might not be beneficially boarded out; but on the other hand, a *résolution* on the part of guardians to board out, *en masse*, all their children who are capable of being boarded out, is not without risk. It is of the highest importance for the success of the boarding-out system that there should be not merely a probability, but a certainty, that the persons with whom the children are boarded out are those in whom confidence may be placed, and to whom the money offered by the guardians is not quite the sole inducement for their taking the children. I should conceive it to be very doubtful whether this certainty is attainable where a large number of children are suddenly boarded out within a limited area; and I have heard (and though I do not vouch for it,

house children having a much smaller knowledge of the outer world, present much fewer points which a teacher can take hold of for purposes of illustration and application than other children do. It is a difficulty in which experience aids but slowly to know on what subjects to speak to workhouse children so as to excite in them an interest.”—Fourth Annual Report of Local Government Board, p. 199.

it is not perhaps improbable) of cases of this kind of abuse, that labouring men have been practically compelled by their employers, who have happened to be either guardians or the friends of guardians, to receive in their houses the children whom it has been resolved to board out. It is, in fact, an inherent characteristic of the boarding-out system, that it lends itself much less readily to inspection than the work-house system does; and hence, while for myself I should admit its superiority where well carried out, abuses are more liable to creep in."

The circumstances in which the Report reprinted in this volume was prepared, are stated in the Thirtieth Annual Report of the Board of Supervision, which has been recently issued :—

"In January last we called for a return from all parishes of the children who were 'boarded out' on the 1st day of that month. This is the first occasion on which a complete official return upon the subject has been obtained. The system of boarding out children originated not with the Board of Supervision, but with the parochial boards themselves. From the beginning it has been watched by this Board with much interest, and the intelligent efforts of the parochial authorities to ameliorate the condition of this class of poor have from time to time been aided and encouraged by inquiries and suggestions emanating

from us. In the latter part of 1869, Mr J. J. Henley, poor-law inspector, by direction of the Poor-Law Board, made a careful inquiry into the system and its results, and his Report was published as a Parliamentary Paper in 1870. The information thus and otherwise obtained by us was generally satisfactory, and we entertained no anxiety or misgiving as to the manner in which, upon the whole, the system of boarding-out is conducted. But we thought the time had come for our being put in possession of full official information as to the specific means taken by each parochial board in order to secure the proper care and maintenance of its boarded-out children, and for our being enabled to consider whether in any case these means appeared to be insufficient. . . . When the returns had been received, their contents were carefully analysed and tabulated under the superintendence of Mr Skelton, the Secretary to the Board; and that gentleman submitted to us along with them a valuable and interesting Report which he had drawn up, showing the results indicated in the returns, and the general conclusions to which these results pointed, for the improvement and greater safety of the practice of boarding out children. . . . We deemed it advisable at once to print and circulate to all parishes an extract from the Report, with our earnest recommendation that all parochial boards should give effect to the suggestions which it contains.

“It will be seen from Mr Skelton's Report and the returns to which it relates (to which we would here especially refer), that we have every reason to feel satisfied that the practice of boarding out children in Scotland has been carefully and judiciously conducted; that its effects have been eminently beneficial to the children without any concomitant evils to the surrounding population; and that the only alterations to be desired in the present system are such as the full information now obtained commends to our judgment, as likely to secure a continuance of the results hitherto attained, and to lead to the extension of the system on a safe basis.”

Some additional observations on the recommendations made by the Board of Supervision in favour of local inspection will be found at page 121. The question of the adequacy of the inspection is certainly one of vital moment to all who are interested in the extension of the system.

THE BOARDING-OUT
OF
PAUPER CHILDREN IN SCOTLAND

THE BOARDING-OUT
OF
PAUPER CHILDREN IN SCOTLAND.

BOARD OF SUPERVISION,
EDINBURGH, 15th May 1875.

The Chairman of the Board of Supervision.

SIR,—I have the honour to submit to the Board a table showing the numbers of children who were “boarded out” by parochial boards in Scotland at 1st January 1875. In terms of the instructions of the Board, schedules were issued to the inspectors of all the parishes and divisions of parishes in Scotland—896 in number—and the returns may therefore be regarded as giving a complete view of the extent, character, and success of the boarding-out system in this country.* In the table which is appended, a general view of the information obtained is presented; but much of it is of a kind that does not admit of

* It is not necessary in this volume to print more than the general abstract and the detailed Returns for two or three of the counties. These will be found in the Appendix.

being tabulated, and an analysis of the particulars taken from the returns (such as I propose to make) may prove interesting to the Board.

The form of schedule sent out embraced the following particulars: The total number of children boarded out, the number who were orphans and deserted, the number who were not orphans or deserted, the number at school, the greatest number boarded in a family, the names of the parishes where boarded, the occupation of the persons with whom boarded, the average cost to the parish of each child, and the system of inspection and supervision employed. Information with reference to these particulars could be obtained mainly from the inspectors of the parochial boards which had adopted the boarding-out system. It appeared to be important, however, that the opinions of the inspectors of the parishes in which children were boarded by other parishes should be elicited, and the following inquiries were addressed to *all* inspectors :—

“(1.) Have complaints been made against the practice of boarding-out pauper children by the parochial board of, or by persons resident in, those parishes where the children are boarded? If so, state nature of complaints, by whom made, and whether you have reason to believe that they are well founded.

“(2.) In respect of the children themselves, are you satisfied with the results obtained by the boarding-out system? State briefly some of the results obtained as regards the children.”

It may be said generally, before entering into details, that the inspectors of poor throughout Scotland are nearly unanimously of opinion that the boarding-

out system has been attended with a remarkable measure of success. In only eleven cases had any complaints been received by the inspectors. Some of these complaints were of old date, made at a time when the system was imperfectly organised and understood; others related to matters of trifling importance. In four cases, where the allegations appeared to be sufficiently serious to require investigation, farther inquiry was made, which showed that the cause of complaint had been removed. Only twelve inspectors have stated that they are not satisfied with the practice. These are, with one or two exceptions, inspectors of small or remote parishes, where the system does not appear to have been tried, and their objections are mainly theoretical. It appears to me that any dissatisfaction that has been occasioned, and any complaints that have been made, could be easily removed by a slight modification (to which I shall hereafter advert) of the system of supervision adopted.

I propose to analyse the information which has been obtained with reference to—

1st. The number of children boarded out.

2d. The average cost.

3d. The parishes which chiefly employ the boarding-out system.

4th. The parishes in which, and the persons with whom, children are boarded.

5th. The average number of children boarded in a family.

6th. The system of supervision employed.

And lastly, The opinion of the inspectors of the parishes which have extensively adopted the boarding-out system on its general results.

I.—NUMBER OF CHILDREN BOARDED OUT.

The total number of children boarded out by parochial boards at 1st January 1875 was 4512—2427 boys, 2085 girls. Of these, 4053 were orphans and children who had been deserted by the persons legally bound to support them. 3752 boarded-out children, or 83.15 per cent of the whole, were at school.

The total number of orphan and deserted children on the roll at 1st January 1875 was 5985. The number chargeable at 14th May (the date of the Board's Annual Return) was 6096, of whom 4254 were orphans, and 1842 deserted. It would thus appear, that of the whole number of orphan and deserted children on the roll at 1st January, upwards of 75 per cent are boarded out.*

There are 495 children boarded out who are neither orphan nor deserted. Various reasons are assigned by parochial boards for separating these children from their legal guardians, the most common case being that in which the surviving parent, generally the mother, is held to be unfit from mental or physi-

* The following table gives the number of orphan and deserted children chargeable to parochial boards on 1st January and 14th August of each of the last six years :—

	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.
1st January, . . .	6675	6724	6609	6453	6091	5985
14th August, . . .	6688	6422	6401	6481	6301	6013
Average number chargeable, }	6681	6573	6505	6467	6196	5999

cal weakness, or from intemperate and profligate habits, to have the custody of her children.

The Inspector of Edinburgh states that the reasons why the children chargeable to the parish who are neither orphan nor deserted are boarded out, are: "1st, Because their parents are sick and infirm, and generally in the poorhouse or in a lunatic asylum; and 2d, Because their parents are profligate or in prison."

The Inspector of St Cuthbert's and Canongate Combination states: "Being totally neglected by drunken, worthless parent or parents; for the good of the children, and because it was thought the parents were a class on whom punishment would have no effect, and that the children would be lost if they were compelled to take them; also, when father is in a lunatic asylum, and the mother unable to do anything for them."

The Inspector of Glasgow states: "Four boys and six girls are the children of convicts; and two boys and one girl are children of insane persons."

The Inspector of Barony states that "children not orphans or deserted are, in special cases, boarded out, in consequence of the parents (in the opinion of the board) being, from their habits, improper persons to have their charge."

The Inspector of Govan Combination states that "boarded-out children not orphans or deserted are separated from parents who are in asylum, &c."

The Inspector of Aberdeen states, with reference to the only boarded-out child not orphan or deserted: "Mother and son were both in poorhouse; but the boy being of weakly constitution was, by medical

advice, removed to the country. The change has been very beneficial."

The Inspector of Greenock states that the reasons why children are boarded out who are not orphans or deserted, are as follow: Father lunatic, mother dead; mother ill of an incurable disease, two cases; fathers abroad, mothers in prison, seven cases; fathers dead, and mothers ill-behaved, some of them prostitutes."

The Inspector of Dundee states the following reasons why children who are not orphan or deserted are boarded out: "One, parent in lunatic asylum; others, worthless characters, unfit to control their children."

The Inspector of Paisley states that children who are not orphan or deserted are boarded out "because the mothers are of dissolute habits."

The Inspector of Abbey states that children who are not orphans or deserted are boarded out, "to be beyond the control and evil influences of their parents, who are inmates of the poorhouse, and are generally drunken, disreputable characters."

II.—THE AVERAGE COST.

The expense of boarding-out children varies considerably in different districts; but it would appear that in very few cases does the cost of each child, including school fees and extras of all kinds, exceed £10 per annum. £6 may be regarded as the minimum. When the annual cost is less than £6, it may, I think, be taken for granted that there are exceptional cir-

cumstances connected with the case. It frequently happens that relatives not legally liable for the support of an orphan child, undertake to maintain it on condition of receiving a small contribution from the parochial funds in aid of the expense of maintenance. If the parochial board are of opinion that the relatives are able to maintain the child without parochial relief, an offer of the poorhouse is made ; but if it appears, after satisfactory investigation, that the relatives are unable to do so without receiving assistance, relief at the rate of one or two shillings per week is given. A considerable number of the children chargeable to the parochial boards of country districts, included in this return, are thus boarded with relatives ; but the parochial boards of the parishes where boarding out is most extensively and systematically employed, do not appear to view the practice with favour ; and it is undoubtedly open to considerable objection, especially when the relatives are aged and infirm, or in receipt of parochial relief on their own account.

III.—THE PARISHES WHICH HAVE ADOPTED THE BOARDING-OUT SYSTEM.

The returns establish that, while the practice of placing orphan and deserted children in families in preference to retaining them in poorhouses is common throughout Scotland, the great majority of the children, as was indeed to be expected, are contributed by the extensive city parishes. The total number of children boarded out at 1st January was, as I have said, 4512 ; and of these 3507 were chargeable to the

parishes situated in the populous counties of Aberdeen, Ayr, Caithness, Dumbarton, Dumfries, Edinburgh, Elgin, Fife, Forfar, Lanark, and Renfrew.

Of the total number of boarded-out children who were chargeable to parochial boards within the county of Aberdeen, viz. 367, no less than 130 belonged to the parishes in which the burgh of Aberdeen is situated.

Of the total number of boarded-out children who were chargeable to parochial boards within the county of Ayr, viz. 205, no less than 90 belonged to the parishes in which the burghs of Ayr, Irvine, and Kilmarnock are situated.

Of the total number of boarded-out children who were chargeable to parochial boards within the county of Caithness, viz. 85, no less than 57 belonged to the parish in which the burgh of Wick is situated.

Of the total number of boarded-out children who were chargeable to parochial boards within the county of Dumbarton, viz. 64, no less than 25 belonged to the parishes in which the burgh of Dumbarton is situated.

Of the total number of boarded-out children who were chargeable to parochial boards within the county of Dumfries, viz. 108, no less than 49 belonged to the parishes in which the burghs of Dumfries, Lochmaben, and Sanquhar are situated.

Of the total number of boarded-out children who were chargeable to parochial boards within the county of Edinburgh, viz. 706, no less than 638 belonged to the parishes in which the burghs of Edinburgh, Portobello, Musselburgh, and Leith are situated.

Of the total number of boarded-out children who

were chargeable to parochial boards within the county of Elgin, viz. 75, no less than 48 belonged to the parishes in which the burghs of Elgin and Forres are situated.

Of the total number of boarded-out children who were chargeable to parochial boards within the county of Fife, viz. 85, no less than 27 belonged to the parishes in which the burghs of Dunfermline and St Andrews are situated.

Of the total number of boarded-out children who were chargeable to parochial boards within the county of Forfar, viz. 276, no less than 214 belonged to the parishes in which the burghs of Arbroath, Brechin, Dundee, Forfar, and Montrose are situated.

Of the total number of boarded-out children who were chargeable to parochial boards within the county of Lanark, viz. 1179, no less than 995 belonged to the parishes in which the burghs of Glasgow, Airdrie, and Rutherglen are situated.

Of the total number of boarded-out children who were chargeable to parochial boards within the county of Renfrew, viz. 357, no less than 260 belonged to the parishes in which the burghs of Greenock, Paisley, and Port-Glasgow are situated.

IV.—THE PARISHES IN WHICH, AND THE PERSONS WITH WHOM, CHILDREN ARE BOARDED.

The parishes are for the most part agricultural and pastoral, and the guardians are mainly persons engaged in agriculture and other rural occupations. The class from which guardians are most frequently

selected (a class in some respects peculiar to Scotland) is thus described by the Inspector of Greenock: "Our children are chiefly boarded with small farmers and 'crofters,' who have one or more cows and a portion of land—and well-to-do farm-labourers, who have one or more cows or a bit of land."

It appeared to me to be of special importance to ascertain how the system is regarded by the inspectors of the rural parishes to which the children are sent; and after the returns were received, I obtained from the inspectors of all the parishes with a large town population, the names of the parishes in which the greater number of their children are boarded. The inspectors of these rural parishes—intelligent and disinterested witnesses—speak in very favourable terms of the beneficial effects of the system as observed by themselves.

The Inspector of Mid-Calder writes: "No complaints were ever made by this parish against the practice of other parishes placing their boarded-out children in it; but at first a prejudice existed against the children, which, however, soon disappeared.

"The parish of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, have had from 18 to 20 pauper children boarded in and near Mid-Calder village for upwards of 25 years. They were first sent to Mid-Calder as an experiment, at the earnest request of the then inspector, Mr Thomson; and as I was schoolmaster as well as inspector of poor, I took a great interest in the scheme, and resolved to give it a fair trial. When the children came first, the boys wore uniform clothing of white mole-skin, the girls of blue drugget—every article stamped 'St Cuthbert's Poorhouse.' They were ashamed of

it and of themselves, and the other children kept aloof from them; they were looked upon as pariahs—the stamp of pauper was upon them, and paupers they would have remained.

“I requested the managers of St Cuthbert’s to remove either the children or the ‘pauper stamp.’ They adopted all my suggestions, and the stamp was removed. Next, the uniform clothing was altered to varieties, such as worn by the other children in the place. I made no distinction between them and the other children in the school. The hang-dog look of pauperism gradually disappeared from their faces—they saw themselves treated as other children, and soon became as others.

“In respect of the children themselves, I consider the results obtained by the boarding-out system have been most satisfactory. They become, and are in all respects treated as, members of the families with whom they are boarded, and entirely lose their identity as paupers. When they leave school, the boys learn trades or become farm-servants, &c., and the girls go to service like other country girls, and many of them get respectably married. Of all the children who have been boarded by St Cuthbert’s parish in Mid-Calder, not one, in so far as I have been able to learn, has returned to pauperism.

“When the children go to service, the family relationship is still kept up, and they return to their foster-parents as other children do to their homes, bringing at term-times, when they get their wages, presents of tea and sugar, articles of clothing, and other tokens of affectionate regard.

“The children should be boarded out when young,

and should not form more than one-fifth, or at most one-fourth, of the children in a school. Three or four may be boarded in one family, and when they go to apprenticeship or service, they should not be sent where they are likely to come in contact with abandoned relatives. I could give many individual instances of the beneficial results of the boarding-out system, in which I have taken a great interest, and, I trust, have been of some service."

The Inspector of Walston writes: "The health of the children is thereby better secured. They are trained to habits of industry, which fit them for the duties of after-life; they receive suitable religious and secular instruction, and regular church-going habits are acquired."

The Inspector of Lanark writes: "A great number of children are sent from other parishes (principally Roman Catholics), and boarded in Lanark parish. I have never received a single complaint against any one of them. I have nothing to say against the boarding-out system, but everything in its favour. All the children here are very well attended to; the houses in general are clean and well kept; and on Sundays I observe large numbers of the children going to church."

The Inspector of Kilmory writes: "The boarded-out children in this parish are, with the exception of one or two, visited and paid through their respective inspectors, consequently I am not brought so much into personal contact with the children as would warrant my hazarding a decided opinion. I, however, notice that the children all improve in health in a short time after being removed to this parish."

The Inspector of Barry writes: "The boarding-out system is the best I can think of. An affection grows between the children and the family with whom they live, which generally continues after the children cease to be paupers."

The Inspector of Bothwell writes: "No complaint had ever been made by this parochial board, or others in the parish, against the system of boarding out children. I am satisfied with the system, as it enables the children to make friends which they could not otherwise do. Numbers who were chargeable to this parish are now in respectable situations; and I am not aware of any one having been taken up for any breach of the law."

The Inspector of Rutherglen writes: "There are a good many children boarded in our parish by the Glasgow parishes; but I have heard no complaints. The children, as a whole, seem superior to the children of paupers who are resident with their parents. In the majority of cases the children remain with their foster-parents after they have ceased to be chargeable to the boards. In some cases they adopt the name, and are scarcely known from the children of the families. I think those who take children to board here, as a rule, have this in view. I think, as a whole, it is much more satisfactory than bringing them up in the poorhouse."

The Inspector of Liff and Benzie writes: "I am satisfied with the results of the boarding-out system, especially in the case of those children under Protestant guardians. As regards the children themselves, the boarding-out system, as a rule, engenders a home feeling in the children. Under it they become more

domesticated ; some such belonging to this parish have been respectably married, and others have learned useful trades. Generally with such the spirit of independence is more manifest and confirmed."

The Inspector of Ballantrae writes : " The parish of Barony will have on an average 30 children boarded in this parish. They are not on our roll ; but, at the request of Barony, I take a general superintendence of the children, &c. I state from very careful observation that the boarding-out system has been attended here with the very best moral and physical results."

The Inspector of Kinnellar writes : " I have never heard of any complaints in this parish against the boarded-out children in this parish. As regards the results to the children themselves, my opinion is, that children removed from large towns and poorhouses are very much benefited in many ways by the boarding-out system. They are generally boarded with small farmers, where they are early taught to make themselves useful by doing little pieces of work, and thus habits of industry are cultivated. They escape the stigma of being brought up in a poorhouse, and the evil influences of mingling with a large number of children who are generally of vicious habits. The country food, the pure air, and the freedom seem to be beneficial to the health of the children. I have noticed in the children boarded in this parish from the parish of Old Machar, Aberdeen, for several years past, the sickly appearance they usually had ; but after being here for some time, they soon assumed a look of health and strength quite a contrast to their former appearance."

The Inspector of Kilcalmonell and Kilberry writes:

"Shortly after children are brought to this district from large towns, they almost immediately get stronger and healthier."

The Inspector of Barr writes: "I am satisfied with the results obtained by the boarding-out system. As regards the children themselves, they have been taught to be cleanly and tidy; untruthfulness has been checked. They are encouraged to work household work, &c. (after school hours), thereby preparing them for household duties. The family in which they are boarded are superior to paupers; hence they breathe the atmosphere of the house (if I may so term it), and thereby become assimilated in their acts and aspirations to the rest of the family. I think the great object to be attained in boarding out is to get the pauper children into as respectable and cleanly families as possible."

The Inspector of Monkton writes, "That he is satisfied with the results obtained by the boarding-out system. The children, when out of school, are generally employed at some light work, and when struck off the roll of paupers make a better shift towards their own support."

The Inspector of Torryburn writes, "That no complaints have ever been made to him against the practice of parochial boards boarding out children. The children boarded out in this parish from the parish of Dunfermline appear to be better cared for than those children residing with their mothers in this parish and chargeable on other parishes,—in fact, they have a more tidy and clean appearance."

The Inspector of Newtyle writes, "That he has *had no complaints against boarded-out children.

Among the results obtained as regards the children They become domesticated, and obtain family training; taught to partake in the work of the house and field; attend church with the family, and also the Sabbath-schools. Situations are found for them when put off the roll, with the best results, there being but one single exception during the past ten years. It has been noted in this parish that many regard their old guardians' house and family with home attachments, and frequently visit them afterwards with that feeling."

The Inspector of Neilston writes: "A great number of children are boarded out through this parish from Glasgow, Barony, Govan, Abbey, and Paisley parishes, some of whom are paid through this parish and others paid direct through the parishes to which they are chargeable. I am quite satisfied that the system is beneficial to the children, and more or less so to those with whom they are boarded. Many of the children when sent here from the above-named parishes, are puny, unhealthy-looking creatures; but a few months' residence in the bracing air of this parish, combined with the good and kind treatment they generally receive, very soon tell a tale in favour of the children; and before the parochial relief is withdrawn, the most of them enter some of the public works here."

The Inspector of Eastwood writes: "I am perfectly satisfied that the boarding-out system is good in respect that the children are generally adopted into the families and ultimately lose the taint of pauperism."

The Inspector of Balfron writes: "No complaints have been made in this parish against the practice of

boarding out pauper children. I am satisfied with the results obtained by the boarding-out system. I find generally that pauper children sent from other parishes to be boarded out here speedily improve in health and strength; they are generally much attached to their guardians, who bring them up as members of their family; and when they cease to be chargeable, they frequently write or visit at the home where they have been brought up, and count it as their home until they find a home of their own."

V.—AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BOARDED
WITH EACH GUARDIAN.

The table which I submit gives, in column five, "the greatest number of children living in one family;" but as it is important to ascertain the average or ordinary number boarded with each guardian, the following information with regard to this point is extracted from the returns, and from letters received from the inspectors of the more populous parishes:—

The Inspector of Edinburgh states, "That the greatest number of children boarded in one family is 5. This is exceptional, the board's rule being not to send more than 4 to one family."

The Inspector of St Cuthbert's and Canongate Combination states, that "the greatest number of children boarded in one family is 6. This occurs in five cases; but the average number is 3, there being nearly one hundred different parties among whom they are boarded, some having only one child."

The Inspector of Glasgow, in reply to an inquiry as to the greatest number of children boarded in one family, furnishes the annexed table :—

" 68 families, . . .	1 each.
54 " . . .	2 "
23 " . . .	3 "
14 " . . .	4 "
2 " . . .	5 "
{ 1 family, . . .	11
Mrs Glen's, at Aberfoyle."	

The Inspector of Barony states, "That the greatest number boarded in one family is 6. This occurs in only two instances. The average number is 2 in each family."

The Inspector of Govan Combination states, "That the greatest number of children boarded in one family is 5. The average or ordinary number is 2.

The Inspector of Aberdeen states, "That the greatest number of children boarded in one family is 3.

The Inspector of Greenock states, "That the greatest number of children boarded in a family is 4, and this only in special cases, with a view to keep the children of one family together."

The Inspector of Dundee states, "That 6 is the greatest number of children boarded in one family. The average or ordinary number does not exceed 4."

The Inspector of Paisley states, "That 5 is the greatest number of children boarded in one family, and that the average number is nearly 3."

The Inspector of Abbey states, "That 6 is the greatest number of children boarded in a family.

The ordinary numbers are 1 or 2 in a family ; the strict average, 1.50."

The Inspector of Old Monkland states, "That 5 is the greatest number of children boarded in a family. The ordinary number is 1 ; when with relatives the number sometimes exceeds that."

The Inspector of New Monkland states, "That 4 is the greatest number of children boarded in a family."

The Inspector of South Leith states, "That 5 is the greatest number of children boarded in a family, the average being 1.416."

The Inspector of Old Machar states, "That 6 is the greatest number of children boarded in a family, but in general not more than 2 or 3."

The Inspector of Kilmarnock states, "That 5 is the greatest number of children boarded in one family. The average or ordinary number is 2."

The Inspector of Dumfries states, "That 3 is the greatest number of children boarded in a family."

The case to which Mr Adamson, the Inspector of Glasgow, refers—where 11 children are boarded with Mrs Glen at Aberfoyle—being a peculiar one, Mr Campbell, the General Superintendent of the Southern Highland district, was requested to visit the house, and favour the Board with his opinion upon the manner in which it is conducted. Mr Campbell reports :—

"LOCHGILPHEAD, 27th May 1875.

"SIR,—In accordance with your wish, I visited the parish of Aberfoyle on the 20th instant, in order to inspect and report upon the establishment of Mrs Glen, for children boarded out with her by the parish of Glasgow. I had no difficulty in finding her house,

as she seemed to be well known and highly respected in the parish. About two miles up the road leading from the inn towards Loch Ard, and at the junction of the overflow of Loch Ard with the Forth, a foot path over undulating ground above the Forth leads at about a mile distance, to Craigie Cottage, where Mrs Glen lives. Her dwelling, till within the last ten years, was an old thatched cottage; but the friends and admirers of her late husband (the poet Glen) and of herself having contributed the funds for it, a very comfortable house of six apartments has been built for her, in which she now resides, the old cottage being converted into offices. The situation is a very beautiful one, being on rising ground immediately above the Forth, the hills surrounding the little valley being well wooded, on the one side of the river by planted timber, and on the other by natural copse. In front of the house a neatly-kept lawn and flower-garden occupies the ground between it and the river-bank, and the whole aspect of the place has the appearance of a neat middle-class villa. Mrs Glen has a small croft, and keeps a couple of cows. She is now an old woman upwards of eighty, but her intellect is still clear and vigorous. Her daughter, Miss Glen, lives with her, and takes the active charge of the children. She is a woman of superior education, and teaches them. She and her mother seem thoroughly devoted to their occupation, which they have carried on for upwards of twenty years. Ten children are now boarded with them, five being boys, aged respectively from seven to ten, and five of them girls, four of them aged from nine to eleven, and the fifth a pretty child about three years old. I saw them all; they were

clean in person, simply and sufficiently clothed, and looked healthy and happy. They occupy as sleeping-rooms three of the apartments of the cottage. In addition to the ordinary school teaching, the children have here the advantage of a good deal of industrial training, for which the ordinary business of the house, herding and attending the cows, working the croft and garden, and keeping the grounds in order, afford ample opportunity.

“Another girl was living in the house, also sent by the parish of Glasgow, but whose time for being paid for had just expired, she being now above age. She was kept on, however, by Mrs Glen at her own expense, as has been her habit with her boarders, taking what assistance they can render in the establishment for their maintenance, until suitable situations are found for them. A maternal relationship is thus kept up between Mrs Glen and her boarders, and they have been in the habit, after having gone into service, of bringing their wages to her, which she places into bank for them, and some of them have thus accumulated considerable savings.

“The house was in mourning at the time of my visit, on account of the death the previous evening, from consumption, of a little girl not a boarder, but a daughter of a former boarder. This young man had enlisted in the 42d Highlanders, and served in the regiment for seven years. During his service he married a young Englishwoman of the better class, whose brothers purchased his discharge, and he left the regiment with a very high character. His wife soon after died of consumption, and being left thus a widower with a motherless girl, he seems to have felt

that he could not consign her to better hands than that of Mrs Glen. He accordingly did so, and took service in the neighbourhood in order to be near his child. The little girl, however, had just sunk from the disease of which her mother died.

"I made several inquiries in the parish regarding this establishment, and all spoke well of it.

"On my return to Glasgow, I made inquiry at the office of the parochial board regarding the number of children from first to last consigned to the care of Mrs Glen, and what has become of them. The total number has been sixty, of whom ten are now with her. Of the remaining fifty, two only, a brother and sister, Irish, and who exhibited as children kleptomania very strongly, have done badly; the girl has become a prostitute, and the boy a thief. Forty-eight are thus accounted for: Two were adopted by respectable people who are childless; twelve went to their friends; two girls are married and doing well; twenty-six are maintaining themselves by their own industry. Among them are a warehouseman, a pastry-baker, a gardener, a painter, a carver and gilder, and a sailor. The others are ploughmen, carters, and domestic servants. Many of these have considerable savings in bank, and the conduct of all is said to be highly creditable. Four of the fifty have died, and one was transferred whilst under age to another parish.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

"ALEXANDER CAMPBELL,
General Superintendent.

"To the Secretary, Board of Supervision."

VI.—THE SYSTEM OF INSPECTION AND SUPERVISION.

The information obtained under this head will be found in a condensed shape in the table which I append. It appears that in many cases the children are placed under the charge of the inspector of the parish where the guardian resides, who deals with them as he deals with his own poor—paying their allowances, seeing that their health and education are properly cared for, and corresponding with the inspector of the parish of settlement ; but as regards the extensive city parishes, from which, as has been seen, a large proportion of the children are sent, a special machinery for inspection and supervision has been provided. It is necessary that the Board should have before it the information on this subject which has been forwarded by the inspectors of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other important parishes, as it is obvious that close, habitual, and vigilant supervision is essential to the successful working of the system.

The Inspector of Edinburgh states : “ There is a special assistant-inspector employed, who visits the children at least eight times a-year. His whole work is to inspect the children—and lunatics boarded out—to see that they are well cared for, and to report to the board once a-month. The inspector and a sub-committee of the Children’s Committee also visit all the children at their homes and at school once a-year, reporting to the board on the state of the children, and the progress they are making with their education. These reports have always been highly satisfactory.

The name and dwelling of each child boarded out is not intimated to the inspector of the parish of residence; but the assistant-inspector of the children generally calls on him, especially when making inquiries as to the character of parties applying for children."

The Inspector of St Cuthbert's and Canongate Combination states, "That the children are visited annually by deputations from Children's Committee with inspector; also by the inspector occasionally as far as other duties permit; and by assistant-inspector of children eight times annually. The teacher in each district is, in rendering his quarterly account required to state the number of days absent on the part of each child, and the cause of absence: also to furnish his remarks as to the appearance of the children, and if kept clean and tidy. It is not customary to intimate the name and dwelling of each child boarded out to the inspector of the parish of residence but he is usually aware of their being in his parish and takes a general overlook of them. The printed instructions on the children's pay-tickets also provide that, 'In all cases of illness of any child boarded out, where there is a difficulty in getting a doctor application should be made immediately by the nurse to the inspector of poor of the parish in which the child is residing.'"

The Inspector of Glasgow states: "The parish has an official whose sole duty it is to visit these children at their homes and the schools they attend at least four times a-year. For this, a salary of £18 per annum, and an allowance of £60 for travelling expenses, is given. The children are also visited once a

year by a committee of the parochial board. Reports are made after each visit by the superintendent, of children boarded out, to the inspector of poor, on a printed form prescribed by the board. It is not now the practice of this parish to intimate the name and dwelling of each child boarded out to the inspector of the parish of residence. Some years ago such intimation was given ; but on a complaint having been made to the Board of Supervision by an inspector, that he considered such intimation imposed on him extra duties, for which he was not liable, the parish of Glasgow abandoned the practice."

The Inspector of Barony states, "That the system of inspection and supervision employed is, that the children are visited and inspected by an assistant appointed for this special purpose. His visits are in most cases four times annually. In addition they are visited by the committee intrusted with this duty by the board once a-year. The name and dwelling of each child boarded are not intimated to the inspector of the parish of residence."

The Inspector of Govan Combination states that the system of inspection pursued by that parish is as follows: "The children are visited periodically by the Children's Committee; and every half-year by an inspector specially appointed for that duty. It is not the uniform practice of this parish to intimate the name and dwelling of each child boarded out to the inspector of the parish of residence; but, of 47 parishes in which children are boarded out, 20 are under the local supervision of the inspector of the parish of residence."

The Inspector of Aberdeen states, "That boarded-

out children are visited twice a-year by the outdoor visiting officer, and by him and the medical officer when necessary; also by a committee of the parochial board once a-year, accompanied by a medical officer. The name and dwelling of each child boarded out is not in every case intimated to the Inspector of the parish of residence."

The Inspector of Greenock states: "The children are visited generally three times a-year—twice by the inspector or his assistants, and once a-year, at irregular intervals, by the committee of the board, along with the inspector. The name and dwelling of each child boarded out is generally intimated to the inspector of the parish of residence, but in some cases this has been omitted."

The Inspector of Dundee states: "The children are under my own inspection visited at least quarterly, either by myself or my assistants, and frequently by some of the members of committee accompanying. The name and dwelling of each child boarded out is intimated to the inspector of the parish of residence."

The Inspector of Paisley states: "The children are visited annually by the inspector and a committee appointed by the board, and generally monthly by the inspector or his assistant. The name and dwelling of each child boarded out is intimated to the inspector of the parish of residence."

The Inspector of the parish of Abbey states: "The children are all visited twice a-year by the inspector or assistant. They are also required to attend once a-year at the inspector's office to be supplied with clothing. A special committee is also appointed

annually, who visit all the children boarded out, and give in a report of the result of their visits. This committee pays particular attention to the aspect of the homes in which the children are placed, makes inquiry regarding the respectability of the members composing the household, and examines the children themselves as to their progress in education, and sees to their general wellbeing. The name and dwelling of each child boarded out is invariably sent to the inspector of the parish in which they are placed, with the exception of the burgh of Paisley, in which the children are supervised by the inspector of Abbey."

The Inspector of Old Monkland states: "The children are visited once yearly by the assistant-inspector of poor; but where any case is doubtful, several times in the year. The name and dwelling of each child boarded out is intimated to the inspector of the parish of residence."

The Inspector of New Monkland states: "The children boarded out and resident in this parish are visited by the inspector twice a-year at their homes, and twice by the inspector and a committee at the schools. Those in other parishes are under the charge of the inspectors there, who report to this board half-yearly, or oftener if required. The name and dwelling of each child boarded out is in every case intimated to the inspector of the parish of residence, by whom they are paid their aliment. Those in Old Monkland, being in the vicinity, are under the supervision of the inspector of the parish of New Monkland."

The Inspector of South Leith states, "That the

children are visited not less than twice annually by the inspector or his assistants. No formal intimation is given to the inspectors of parishes where children are boarded out ; but in most cases they are aware of the children being resident in their parishes."

The Inspector of Old Machar states, with reference to the system of inspection : " The children are frequently visited by an assistant-inspector during the year, and annually by a sub-committee of the board, along with the inspector, who carefully inspects the dwellings in which they are lodged, and examines them as to their educational attainments. If the children or their dwellings are found unclean or untidy, they are at once removed therefrom. Intimation is always given of the name and dwelling of each child boarded out to the inspector of the parish of residence, with the exception of the parish of New-hills, which adjoins Old Machar, and where the children are paid by the inspector of Old Machar himself."

The Inspector of Kilmarnock states : " I visit all children twice a-year myself, and occasionally the board appoints a small committee to visit each case. The names and dwellings of children are intimated to the inspectors of the parishes of residence, and the children placed under their supervision."

The Inspector of Dumfries states : " The children under our own supervision (in the parishes of Torthorwald, Dumfries, and Troqueer) are visited twice a-year, and sometimes oftener, by the assistant-inspector. Those boarded at a distance are under the supervision of the inspectors of the parishes of residence, and will, I presume, be regularly visited by

them. The name and dwelling of each child is intimated to the inspector of the parish of residence."

VII.—OPINIONS OF THE INSPECTORS OF THE PARISHES WHICH HAVE EXTENSIVELY ADOPTED THE BOARDING-OUT SYSTEM AS TO ITS GENERAL RESULTS.

Most of these officials have held office for many years ; they have watched with attention the progress of the system, and assisted the parochial boards in placing it upon a satisfactory footing ; and their deliberate judgment is entitled to great weight. The opinions expressed by them are (without exception, I think) highly favourable.

The Inspector of Edinburgh states, " That he is satisfied with the results obtained by the boarding-out system. As regards the children themselves, the results have been most satisfactory, both morally and physically. They attend the school, the Sabbath-school, and the church regularly with the children of the village ; and, independently of the affectionate tie they form with their foster-parents, they form a friendly relation both with the young and old of the locality, which has a healthy, moral influence on them, and is otherwise beneficial to them in after-life. The improvement in the appearance and habits of the children, after they are a while boarded in the country, is very striking ; and, notwithstanding that they are sent out to the country at all ages, from one month to twelve years, and often in a weak and diseased state, numbers suffering from constitutional disease,

out of 877 boarded in the country by this parish since May 1866, only 14 have died. They get into situations much easier by this system than out of the poorhouse, and the parish is relieved of them earlier. Their foster-parents take great interest in finding situations for them; and when out of place, they return to their foster-parents for advice and assistance, and not to the parish. No complaints have been made against the practice of boarding out pauper children by the parochial boards of, or by persons resident in, those parishes where the children are boarded."

The Inspector of St Cuthbert's and Canongate Combination states that he is decidedly satisfied with the results obtained by the boarding-out system. As regards the children themselves, he remarks: "They become healthier and stronger, and are better educated than if retained in a poorhouse. They form family ties with their nurses, and freer and more independent relationships with the non-pauper members of the community. They mix readily with the non-pauper children of the district, both in and out of school, and lose, or rather do not gain, the notion that they are a separate class. As to the boys, they are sent when of proper age to apprenticeships, farm-service, or whatever occupation they may be found suited for. Some of them have in due time become master-tradesmen. The girls are sent to service, and many have been respectably married, some having now servants of their own. Both boys and girls generally continue on friendly terms with the families with whom they have been brought up, and with which they claim a sort of parental relationship. Instances

are rare of any of them returning as paupers after having grown up. No complaints have been made against the practice of boarding out pauper children by the parochial boards of, or by persons resident in, those parishes where the children are boarded. Some time ago, however, the School Board of Kippen received a complaint by a few of the residents in Kippen parish, against the boarded-out children of this combination attending school along with their children; but I have every reason to believe the complaint was ill-founded. The School Board did not agree with the complainers, and the children are now, to the satisfaction of every one, attending the public school there. No other complaints have been made to my knowledge for upwards of *fifteen* years."

The Inspector of Glasgow states, "That he is satisfied with the results obtained by the boarding-out system. The results obtained, as regards the children, are fully furnished in a printed report on the subject. Several of the children brought up by Mrs Glen, at Aberfoyle, one of our most successful nurses, have money in the savings-bank, and, though residing on different farms at a distance, leave their bank-books with her. The sums at their credit are from £5 to £20 and upwards. No complaints have ever been made against the practice of boarding out pauper children by the parochial boards of, or by persons resident in, those parishes where the children are boarded."

The following extract is taken from the report of the committee referred to by the inspector of poor of Glasgow:—

"For upwards of one hundred years Glasgow has

adopted the plan of boarding these children in carefully-selected families. For more than eleven years an experienced official has been appointed, who devotes his whole time to their supervision, and his visits are frequently made in company with some member or members of the committee ; at other times some of the committee go without the official. Great care is taken in the selection of the families in which the children are placed ; and, when so placed, a constant supervision is kept, and if an unsatisfactory arrangement is made, the child is immediately removed ; but this is seldom necessary, as the committee have always on their list applications from numerous good families, and can make a suitable selection. The family circle is the most natural one for the bringing up and training of children. It is of divine appointment ; and, in their humble endeavours to follow out this plan, the committee feel confident they are more likely to succeed than by congregating a great number of children in an orphanage, where one wicked bad child may be the means of corrupting many while in a family, under the eye of a judicious and vigilant nurse, where there are only one or two children, perhaps only one, a bad child is all but incapable of doing injury to others. These children look up to the heads of the family as their parents, and the younger branches as brothers and sisters—the best feelings of the heart are engaged, the affections are cherished and drawn out, not smothered in the child's breast as if among strangers—the endearing terms father and mother are used, and believed in by the younger ones ; and though as they grow older this relationship is better understood, yet the attachment

is formed, and has a beneficial effect in after-life. The children often return to this family-home for counsel in difficulties and sympathy in distress. The holiday excursion, or any more joyous occasion, furnishes an opportunity eagerly embraced to visit their foster-parents. The committee recommend all those who really wish to obtain information as to how these children are brought up, to accompany the committee in their visits, and see their homes and the schools they attend. They do not certainly come in from school or play with the precise, demure, and well-disciplined appearance that you find in a well-managed orphanage; but, what pleases the committee more, they appear with a buoyancy of spirit, a confidence of manner, and happiness of countenance which shows that they are at home, are happy, and well cared for."

The Inspector of Barony states, "That he is completely satisfied with the results obtained by the boarding-out system. As regards the children themselves, they enjoy better health and obtain a better moral training. In the case of orphans and deserted children, the new attachments formed by them are lasting and beneficial. The residence in these homes has also the effect of fitting the children for fulfilling the duties of the station in life which they are in future to occupy, and tends to prevent their looking back on a poorhouse as a home, and parochial relief as a support. The only complaints ever made against the practice of boarding out pauper children among the twenty-six parishes in which they are located, are as follow: 1. An objection by the inspector of Kilmalcolm, made some years ago, which was brought

before the Board of Supervision, who gave their decision in favour of the practice ; and 2. A complaint by a lady at Dunmore, near Tarbert, to the effect that the children were introducing skin disease in the neighbourhood—but which, on being submitted to medical examination, was ascertained to be unfounded.”

The Inspector of Govan Combination states, “That he is satisfied with the results obtained by the boarding-out system. As regards the children, they become self-supporting earlier. They acquire a spirit of self-dependence and energy ; and they have invariably an attachment for the house they are brought up in ; and they are very rarely ever again burdensome to the parish. No complaints have ever been made against the boarding-out system by any one resident in this parish.”

The Inspector of Aberdeen states : “The system of boarding has been of advantage to the parochial board, and more particularly to the children themselves, who, from the training they get at the places where boarded, are readily, when of age, picked up by farmers, become self-supporting, and generally turn out well in after-life. It not unfrequently happens that the children when of age remain in the families of those who have brought them up, and make their house a home in after-years.”

In expressing his satisfaction with the results obtained by the boarding-out system, the inspector furnishes an excerpt from the minutes of the Visiting Committee of the board, when the children were last visited by them in September 1874, which is in the following terms : “The committee desire to state

their entire approval of the system of boarding the children in the country, specially where the children are of weakly constitution, or have been for a time located in the poorer districts of the town, and not properly attended to. The interest and kindly feeling shown by many of the guardians towards this class under their care, is very commendable, and gratifying to the committee."

The inspector adds an extract minute of the parochial Board, dated 1st November 1851: "Dr Christie, Bailie Urquhart, and Mr M'Laren reported a visitation of the orphans residing in Aberdeen, Skene, Countesswells, and neighbourhood thereof, and expressed themselves highly satisfied with the accommodation provided for them, and the manner in which they are cared for and kept; and on the suggestion of Bailie Urquhart, the board instructed the inspector in all cases, when it can be done with prudence, to see that this class of pauper children be in future boarded in the country."

The Inspector of Greenock states, "That he is decidedly satisfied with the results obtained by the boarding-out system. In the first place, the physical development of the children is more effectually secured. As is well known, many of the children who fall on the board for support are of a delicate, diseased constitution; to these, removal to the country brings strength, health, and activity. In my experience of the administration of the poor-law for the last twenty-five years, I have found that boarding in the poor-house or similar institutions has never produced these results. Another beneficial result to the children themselves is the improved moral training they re-

ceive when boarded out, as compared with their upbringing in a poorhouse. The parochial authorities here select thoroughly respectable, good-living people as nurses. Children placed in close companionship with such guardians, daily witnessing their exemplary conduct and consistent lives, and trained to habits of industry, economy, and sobriety under their care, cannot fail to be influenced for good ; and in after-life it is a very rare occurrence to hear of them again as paupers. No complaints have ever been made against the practice of boarding out pauper children by the parochial boards of those parishes where the children are boarded. On one occasion a lady, resident in the parish of Kilcalmonell, complained, under an erroneous impression, that fever had been brought into the district by one of the pauper children from Greenock. Subsequent inquiry proved this was not the fact, it being ascertained that fever existed in the locality before the boy arrived in the district. I have been for ten years inspector of the parish, and this is the only complaint ever made known to me."

The Inspector of Dundee states, " That the results obtained by the boarding-out system are, upon the whole, favourable. Next to the parental roof, the practice of boarding out, particularly in the country, with suitable guardians, I think the best. Domestic habits are formed ; the children attend school along with other children in the parish, and in general at the public examination are found equal, and in many cases above, the rest in the class. When fit for service, I have no difficulty in finding masters for them. Complaints have never been made against the practice of boarding out pauper children by the parochial

boards of those parishes in which the children are boarded. There have been, though seldom, complaints against guardians not being sufficiently careful of the children; and if, on examination, found correct, the children were immediately removed. This has a salutary effect on other guardians."

The Inspector of Paisley states, "That he is quite satisfied with the results of the boarding-out system. As compared with poorhouse training, children brought up as boarders in the country with private families are more robust in both mind and body; and when they come to be of age to work for themselves, prove much abler for self-support. The efficiency of the present mode of training these children must be judged by actual results. Tried by this test, the experience of the last thirty-six years, during which it has been in operation in Paisley, is, in our opinion, decisive. Throughout this long period, there is no instance in the recollection of the present officials of any child enjoying the benefit of this mode of training sufficiently long to test its value, who, after going to work, has been in prison or the subject of a criminal prosecution. None have again become chargeable as paupers in consequence of profligate habits. There have been no complaints by the parochial boards of, or by persons resident in, those parishes where children are boarded out."

The Inspector of Abbey states: "The Abbey parochial board are highly satisfied with the results of the boarding-out system. The children come to know the comforts of a home, get a knowledge of household duties, and forget that they are paupers. They are more free from contamination from badly-

behaved children than if kept together in the poorhouse. When boarded out, they are more readily adopted, and by a more respectable class than if they were taken from the poorhouse. After being adopted, it is very rare that they again become paupers on the parish. In a good many instances, children are adopted by the persons with whom they are at first sent to board. I have never in my experience heard a single complaint against the practice of boarding out by any person whatever."

The Inspector of Old Monkland states, "That he is satisfied with the results obtained by the boarding-out system. The results as regards the children are satisfactory. The children who are boarded out in connection with this parish very seldom again become chargeable after they are struck from the roll. The parties with whom they are boarded take an interest in them, and look upon them as part of their own family. When they become of age, situations are readily obtained for them, and they invariably become good members of society. There have been no complaints against the practice of boarding out pauper children from parochial boards of, or persons in, the parishes where the children are boarded."

The Inspector of New Monkland states: "I am perfectly satisfied that the boarding-out system has been attended with beneficial results. The children get mixed up with the general population, and become decent tradesmen or domestic servants; look upon the house they have been boarded in as their home: they forget they have ever been paupers, and very rarely ever become chargeable in after-life. With the children brought up in the poorhouse it is totally

different. They never seem to forget that the poor-house is their home, and come back to the parish on the most trivial difficulty arising. No complaints have ever been made regarding the practice of boarding out children."

The Inspector of South Leith states, "That he is quite satisfied with the results of the system. The children not unfrequently take employment eventually in the places where they have been boarded, and settle there. Looking to the general benefit to the children as out-boarders, the system is the preferable one. No complaints have ever been received from parishes in which children are boarded."

The Inspector of Old Machar states: "I am thoroughly satisfied with the boarding-out system. The committee, who, along with myself, have visited the children, have always expressed themselves well satisfied with their appearance and educational attainments. So soon as they are able for work, there has been no difficulty in finding such, according to their inclinations; and, on the whole, as far as I know, they have done well in the spheres in which they were placed. Those with whom they are lodged look upon them as members of their own family, and take a deep interest in their welfare, even after they have left them. No complaints have ever been made by parochial boards of, or persons in, parishes in which children have been boarded."

The Inspector of Kilmarnock states, "That he is quite satisfied with the results of the system of boarding out children. Some difficulty has been experienced in finding proper parties with whom to board them; when that is overcome, the plan works well.

Girls are taught to do housework in the families where they are boarded, and there is a constant demand for them for domestic servants when they have reached the age of twelve or thirteen. The greater majority of them turn out well. The boys are adopted in respectable families, where they are treated like the other members of the family. The majority turn out well. I have had three or four who proved quite unmanageable under the boarding-out system; they were sent to the industrial school. No complaints have been made against the system of boarding out pauper children; but complaints have reached from parties residing in localities where children were boarded out, against the parties with whom they were boarded. Inquiry has generally proved these complaints to be groundless; but where ill-usage or insufficiency of food was found to exist, immediate removal of the children was made."

The Inspector of Dumfries states that, with reference to the results to the children themselves, "They acquire habits of industry from the people with whom they are boarded, and very rarely come back on the parish after they have gone out into the world. They are also more cheerful and healthy to appearance. Children brought up in the poorhouse frequently return as paupers in after-life. No complaints have been received from parishes in which children are boarded, with one exception—a complaint was made to the inspector of Closeburn, that one of the children had been guilty of theft. This board, on inquiry, took him away and placed him in the industrial school at Dumfries."

The Inspector of Falkirk states: "I think it is fi

the benefit of pauper children to be boarded out in decent families, for they mix more with other children at school and otherwise, and they are taught habits of industry and self-dependence in a greater degree in private families than in poorhouses. Those formerly boarded out belonging to Falkirk parish have, without exception, turned out well, not one of whom has ever returned chargeable to the parish. The parochial board have resolved to board out all the orphans and deserted children, when suitable persons can be found to take them. No complaints, that the inspector is aware of, have ever been received from parishes in which the children are boarded out."

The Inspector of Inverness remarks: "I am satisfied with the results of boarding out. There are a few prominent results, such as: 1. I believe the children are stronger. 2. They are not brought up in the idea that they are pauper, as poorhouse children are. 3. They are brought up to habits of industry. 4. Rarely has a child who has ceased again become chargeable. As a rule, the tie between the child and guardian is too strong to allow the former to be returned to the poorhouse. No complaints have ever been made against boarded-out children by parishes in which they are resident."

The Inspector of Dunfermline states: "In nearly all the cases the results are satisfactory, as the parties who have the children are most respectable; and where they have children of their own, no preference is apparent for their own children. I have had to remove one or two, as they were not regular in their attendance at school, and were made to look after the children of the family, and treated rather as servants.

The success of boarding out altogether depends on the respectability of the family where they are boarded. No complaints have been made against the practice of boarding out pauper children by the parochial boards of, or by persons resident in, the parishes where the children are boarded."

The Inspector of Elgin states that he is perfectly satisfied with the results obtained by the boarding-out system. He says: "Great care has been taken to select guardians of good moral character, and I have always found the children very well attended to in every respect—a feeling of attachment and affection always existing on both sides. I consider them better attended to than the children of the labouring classes in this quarter, and have no improvement to suggest. No complaints have ever been received against boarded-out children from any parish in which they are resident."

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

It now only remains for me to state, for the information of the Board, the general conclusions at which I have arrived. From a careful examination of the returns, it appears to me:—

1st. That the system of boarding out pauper children, which has been extensively in operation in Scotland for more than a quarter of a century, has been attended, in so far as the children are concerned, with most beneficial results.

2d. That, with rare and doubtful exceptions, the introduction of the practice has not been productive

of any evil effects in the districts where the children are boarded.

3*d*. That the success of the system depends (*a*) upon the care and judgment with which the selection of guardians is made ; (*b*) upon the thoroughness of the inspection and supervision ; (*c*) upon the limitation of the number of children boarded out in each dwelling or with each guardian ; and (*d*) upon the limitation of the number of children boarded out in each parish. Any well-founded complaints that have been received may be traced, it appears to me, to the failure on the part of parochial boards to observe one or other of these conditions. Thus, the system has not succeeded in those cases (*a*) where the children are boarded with persons in receipt of parochial relief, or with aged and infirm relatives ; (*b*) where inspection and supervision are not vigilant and habitual ; (*c*) where an excessive number of children are boarded with one guardian ; (*d*) where an excessive number of children are boarded in one parish.

These are the dangers against which, under any circumstances, parochial authorities who are desirous to apply the boarding-out system to pauper children must be prepared to guard. That the complaints against the system as it exists in Scotland have been few and unimportant, and that the success which has attended it has been growing and uninterrupted, proves that the parochial boards have acted in the main with praiseworthy caution and judgment. But it appears to me that the only real and permanent check against abuse is to place the children under the official inspection and supervision of the inspector of the parish in which they are boarded. Many

of the smaller parochial boards have already adopted this course; but the large parishes have provided a special machinery for the purpose, and in such circumstances even the names and addresses of the children are often unknown to the inspector within whose district they reside. The machinery provided is, I have no doubt, most efficient of its kind, and ought not to be dispensed with; but I am strongly of opinion that *an official relation should in all cases be established between the inspector of the parish of residence and the boarded-out children in his parish; and that, for the due discharge of the duties incidental to the office, he should be remunerated by the parochial board of the parish of settlement.* Such an arrangement would be in many ways of the utmost advantage:—

1. The inspector of the parish of residence would be ready to aid the inspector of the town parish in the selection of guardians, and he is probably the person best qualified to render substantial assistance. The inspector of a thinly-populated rural parish must know by head-mark every person in the district under his charge who could be safely and properly intrusted with the upbringing of a child.

2. No supervision can be so generally effective as that of the inspector resident on the spot, if he is made responsible to the parochial authorities for the wellbeing of the children. But periodical visits by a special inspector (and by the Children's Committee) ought not to be discontinued. The most intelligent supervision will be obtained when the two are combined. The inspector of the parish will bring his local knowledge and observation to aid the special inspector, who, on the other hand, will have certain

special qualifications that the other cannot possess—*e.g.*, more general experience of, and a wider acquaintance with, the system.

3. By the appointment of a resident inspector, the risk of a guardian undertaking the charge of an excessive number of children will be sensibly diminished. There is no reasonable likelihood of a resident inspector being misled as to the number of persons living in a house; and whenever he finds that an improper number of children are being housed by a guardian (and it might possibly be advisable to prepare a few simple rules on the subject for his guidance), it will become his duty to communicate, without delay, with the parish of settlement. Such a system of inspection will prevent necessitous persons from embarking in this occupation, as in a trade more or less lucrative; and it is clear that nothing would be more likely to bring boarding out into discredit than the suspicion that, in any considerable number of cases, the guardian's dwelling had ceased to be a wholesome *home*, and become a species of ill-conducted hospital.

4. And his appointment will also tend to prevent what is perhaps the most serious risk connected with boarding out—the risk not of a house only, but of a parish becoming overcrowded with pauper children. It is indisputable that the less the children are congregated in selected localities—the more they are distributed over the whole country—the more beneficial is boarding out likely to prove. The intention being to merge the pauper in the general population, the system will fail to attain its main object if any parish or village is turned into a pauper colony, where the pauper is stronger than the industrial element, or

where the latter cannot assist the former. But a resident magistrate cannot fail to perceive when the resources of his district so to speak are exhausted, and when it is essential to his welfare and to the welfare of the emigrating pauper children as well, that no more children should be introduced: and it will then become his duty to communicate with the parishes of settlement and with the Central Board.

While making these suggestions, I must repeat that the returns are in general extremely satisfactory; and that the facts which they disclose afford ample evidence that the parochial boards of Scotland have discharged their obligations to the children, to whom they stand *ex hoc nomine* with kindness, judgment, and success.—I am, your obedient servant,

JOHN SKELTON,
Secretary.

MEMORANDUM

ON

LOCAL INSPECTION



MEMORANDUM

ON

LOCAL INSPECTION.

ALTHOUGH the propriety of the recommendation made by the Board of Supervision (viz., that an official relation should in all cases be established between the inspector of the parish of residence and the boarded-out children in his parish; and that, for the due discharge of the duties incidental to the office, he should be remunerated by the parochial board of the parish of settlement) appears to have been generally acquiesced in, yet it has been objected to by certain of the large parochial boards in Lanarkshire and Mid-Lothian; and as the objections have been stated in public with force and moderation, it is right that they should receive attentive consideration. The grounds of objection are various. It is asserted (1) that the system as hitherto practised has been successful, and that it is dangerous to introduce novelties; (2) that the payment of inspectors would unnecessarily increase the expense; (3) that the payment of inspec-

tors would defeat one of the objects of the recommendation, inasmuch as it would give inspectors an inducement unduly to increase the number of children boarded in their parishes ; (4) that inspectors who regard the system with hostility could not be expected to co-operate cordially ; (5) that if the children were placed under the supervision of the local inspector, they would not be freed from the stamp of pauperism, as they are under the existing system.

All the material objections are embraced in these allegations.

It is to be observed at the outset, that the Board of Supervision entirely approve of "boarding out" as one of the most, if not *the* most, successful system for the nurture and education of orphan and deserted pauper children. So that the parochial boards, and the Board of Supervision, have truly the same object in view—that object being *to make the practice as effective and safe as possible*. But it is not to be denied that, unless the most stringent and vigilant precautions are adopted, it is a system which may involve serious risks and lend itself to gross abuses—degenerating easily and naturally from a system of "boarding out" to a system of "farming out." It has gradually attained very large dimensions—between four and five thousand children are at present being brought up in this way in Scotland ; and the further it extends, the more necessary do intelligent supervision and close inspection become. It must be recollected, moreover, that the practice is viewed with much suspicion in England by persons of considerable official and intellectual position ; and we may be quite sure that any scandal arising out of its operation would be

eagerly seized on by those who are opposed to its extension across the Border. A single bad case of cruelty or neglect might at the present moment do an incalculable amount of damage. It is probably to guard against these possibilities of evil that the Board of Supervision have advised parochial boards to establish in all cases some sort of connection between the pauper child and the inspector of the parish in which he is boarded. The Board have not issued any precise rules or regulations defining the duties which he should be required to discharge ; such definition was probably unnecessary and undesirable, seeing that all that the Board appear to desiderate is that there should be *a competent person on the spot* who can have his eye on the children, and take care that they are properly attended to. One would fancy that the cordial co-operation of a resident inspector would be of the utmost advantage, not only in this, but in various other directions ; and that it would be gratefully taken advantage of by the parochial boards. It is said, however, as we have seen, that the objections are too serious to be disregarded. Let us take these in the order in which they have been stated.

1. That the system as hitherto practised has been successful, and that it is dangerous to introduce novelties.

But the fact is that the proposal is not a novelty,—the returns showing that a large proportion—probably not less than one-half—of the children who are brought up in this way are already under the supervision of the local inspector. The Board merely desire that a precaution which is now commonly, should hereafter be universally adopted.

2. That the payment of inspectors would unnecessarily increase the expense.

It may be estimated that about three thousand of the boarded-out children are removed from the parishes to which they belong, and placed in parishes with which they have no legal connection; and these are the children to whom the Board's recommendation applies. Now, if the inspector of the parish of residence were to receive an annual payment of five shillings for each child placed under his care, the total annual charge to parochial boards throughout Scotland would not amount to more than £750; and it is probable that in many cases even a more modest "retainer" would be accepted. It seems plain that an objection based on this trifle of additional expense ought not to be entertained.

3. That the payment of inspectors would defeat one of the objects of the recommendation, inasmuch as it would give inspectors an inducement unduly to increase the number of children boarded in their parishes.

The parochial inspectors of Scotland are, as a rule; a remarkably respectable and conscientious class of men; and we do not imagine that the prospect of a few additional half-crowns would induce them to mislead their employers.

4. That inspectors who regard the system with hostility could not be expected to co-operate cordially.

It appears from the Report that, of the 898 inspectors in Scotland, barely a dozen are opposed to the system. Were it necessary, it would not be difficult to avoid the parishes in which these inspectors are placed; but we do not believe that it would be necessary.

For the truth is, that any dissatisfaction which exists may be traced to what is unquestionably an exceptional anomaly in the administration of the poor-laws,—the introduction of pauper children into poor-law districts where no person is officially responsible for their management. Whenever, by engaging and interesting the local inspectors in the work, this anomaly is removed, we shall have no more complaints of covert hostility or undisguised ill-will.

5. That if the children were placed under the supervision of the local inspector, they would not be freed from the stamp of pauperism as they are now.

To this it can only be replied that there *must* be inspection—thorough, vigilant, constant inspection is the key-note of the system. If boarding out be such a delicate plant that it cannot thrive when closely looked at, the prospect of long life is not encouraging. But for our own part we believe that the apprehensions which have been expressed are baseless in theory as well as inconsistent with past experience. It is not maintained that the results which have been obtained in the districts where the children are already placed under the supervision of the local inspectors have been unsatisfactory. The “seal of pauperism” has *not* been “stamped upon the faces” of these children more distinctly than on the faces of the others. But apart from experience, we have only to bring a little common-sense to bear on the discussion to see that the argument, to say the least, has been extravagantly overstated. It is alleged that quarterly visits from the Children’s Committee and the special inspector constitute sufficient and beneficial supervision,—supervision which answers its purpose,

and does not stamp the children as paupers. But are these visits conducted with absolute secrecy? Why, it must be known not only to the guardians of the children, but to every inhabitant of the parish, that the children are pauper children supported by parochial funds. In remote rural parishes the arrival of the Children's Committee (in some sort of visible conveyance, it may be presumed) will constitute *an event*, and even a special inspector will be regarded as a curiosity. On the other hand, the habitual unobtrusive supervision of the resident officer need entail no fuss whatever. All that is required is, that when going his rounds *he should keep his eyes open*, so that he may be prepared to report any abuse or irregularity without a day's delay to those who are legally responsible for the moral and social wellbeing of the children. In exceptional cases it may be possible to obtain the services of some one other than the inspector; but, speaking generally, it will be found that throughout Scotland the poor-law officer is not merely the most competent, but the only available person to perform the duties of intelligent local supervision.

Mr W. A. Peterkin, in his Report dated April 1875, has stated the case very plainly and forcibly: "I have already said that the boarding-out system of Scotland depends for its success on *inspection*, and for this the poor-law arrangements of Scotland are well adapted. During the year ended 14th May 1874, as stated above, there were 7342 orphan and deserted pauper children in Scotland. There are 886 parishes or poor-law divisions, each acting independently of the other, and in 304 of these parishes *no such child* was chargeable; it was therefore only to 582 parishes that the

above number of children belonged, giving an average of twelve children for each parish—not a great number of children for each of 582 responsible public officers to look after if the children were equally distributed. But 382 parishes had *six or a less number*, and 484 had *twelve or a less number*. There were only 98 parishes that had *more than twelve cases*, and to 50 of these parishes 4540 children were chargeable, and the greater portion (3600) were under the charge of only 20 parishes. But 2802 children, in the smaller parishes, were under the charge of 432 responsible inspectors, or an average to each of *six* pauper children. It appears to me, on a consideration of the foregoing figures as well as from my own personal knowledge and observation, that we have in Scotland a *power* of inspection of the best official description; and we know that that power has been and is exercised systematically and with much earnestness, not more so in the larger parishes than in the smaller, where, as often happens, the children are under the eye of the inspector every day in school, and in church on Sundays, besides being visited frequently at their own homes; and it is obvious that by judicious arrangement this power is capable of being more widely utilised.”

It may be added that the change of system would be attended with this advantage: the names and numbers of the children boarded out in each parish might be periodically scrutinised by the officers of the Board of Supervision. At present these gentlemen have no opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the circumstances of the children boarded out in their respective districts; and it is certainly to be

regretted that the experienced officers of the Central Board should be placed in such a position. But when a roll of boarded-out children is kept by the local inspector, this roll will be examined along with the other parochial records, and the children themselves, and the houses in which they live, will be occasionally visited. "It has given me much gratification," Mr Campbell, the General Superintendent of the Southern Highland Districts, remarks in his Report to the Board dated 1st May 1875, "to learn that your attention has been of late directed to boarded-out pauper children; this important part of our poor-law administration has for some time past appeared to me capable of improvement. I look forward with confidence to the result of your Report, trusting thereby to obtain official means of keeping children boarded out within my district under my supervision. Such additional supervision on the part of your officers cannot be otherwise than beneficial to the large parishes which now employ inspectors of their boarded-out children; and it is, I am satisfied, much needed for the smaller parishes."

APPENDIX No. I.

ABSTRACT OF RETURNS AS TO BOARDED-OUT CHILDREN.

[It has been considered sufficient to print here (along with the General Abstract) the Returns relating to the Counties of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Lanark.]

ABSTRACT OF RETURN OF PAUPER CHILDREN BOARDED OUT IN PRIVATE DWELLINGS
AT 1ST JANUARY 1875.

PARISH.	Total No. of Children Boarded out.		No. of such Children who are Orphans or Deserted.		No. of such Children who are not Orphans or Deserted.		No. of such Children at School.	Greatest No. of such Children in one Dwelling.	Average cost of each Child per annum.	Occupation or Condition of Persons with whom Boarded.	System of Inspection and Supervision employed.
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.					
COUNTY OF ABERDEEN.											
Aberdeen, .	49	32	48	32	1	...	65	3	£ s. d. 9 10 0	Small farmers or cottars	Visited by Children's Committee and special inspector.
Aberdour, .	1	3	1	3	...	...	3	1	8 3 0	Crofters, labourers	By inspector quarterly.
Aboyne, .	2	...	2	...	...	...	3	1	6 10 0	Widow	By inspector.
Alford, .	7	2	5	2	2	...	8	2	8 0 0	Agricultural labourers	By inspector once a-month in parish; can't say how often others are.
Auchterless, .	3	4	2	3	1	1	5	4	7 9 0	Crofter, labourers	By inspector quarterly.
Belhelvie, .	5	...	2	...	3	...	4	1	7 11 9	Crofter, twice a-year.	By inspector twice a-year.
Birse, .	...	2	...	...	...	2	1	2	6 10 0	Cottager	By inspector quarterly.
Bourlie, .	3	...	1	...	2	...	2	1	9 2 0	Crofter	By inspector of parish of residence.
Cairney, .	1	2	1	2	...	...	3	1	7 5 0	Gardener, small farmer, sick nurse	By inspector quarterly.
Chapel - of - Garloch, .	3	2	2	1	1	1	4	2	8 3 9	Crofters, agricultural labourers	By inspector of parish of residence.
Chunty, .	1	2	...	1	1	1	2	2	5 17 0	Quarrier, cottager	By inspector of parish of residence.
Crathie and Braemar, .	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	1	8 5 0	Farmer	By inspector very often.
Cruden, .	2	3	2	3	...	...	5	2	5 14 10	Agricultural labourer	By inspector quarterly.

PARISH.	Total No. of Children Boarded out.		No. of such Children who are Orphans or Deserted.		No. of such Children who are not Orphans or Deserted.		No. of such Children at School.	Greatest No. of such Children in one Dwelling.	Average cost of each Child per annum.	Occupation or Condition of Persons with whom Boarded.	System of Inspection and Supervision employed.
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.					
COUNTY OF ABER-DEEN— <i>cont.</i>											
Kintore, . . .	1	3	1	3	...	...	2	2	£ 7 0 0	Crofter, labourer	By inspector of parish of residence half-yearly, Do.
Leochel-Cushnie, Leslie, . . .	...	...	1	1	1	...	1	1	10 9 7	Child's aunt	By inspector quarterly.
Logie-Buchan, . . .	1	1	...	...	1	...	1	1	7 10 0	Crofter	By inspector half-yearly.
Logie-Coldstone, . . .	...	1	1	1	...	...	1	1	10 10 0	Gardener, crofter	By inspector quarterly.
Longside, . . .	7	5	5	3	2	2	8	2	6 12 2	Cottar	Statutory visits.
									4 17 6	Widows, farm-servant, labourers, &c.	
Machar, Old, . . .	25	24	24	24	1	...	47	6	9 0 0	Crofters, widow, farm-servant, &c.	By sub-committee and inspector annually, and frequently by assistant-inspector.
Meldrum, . . .	4	...	4	...	...	...	4	2	9 10 0	Crofter, mason, day-labourer	By inspector quarterly.
Methlic, . . .	3	2	3	...	...	...	4	1	6 0 0	Persons engaged in agricultural operations	Statutory visits.
Monquhitter, Newhills, . . .	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	3 18 0	Small shopkeeper	Statutory visits.
	5	4	5	3	...	...	7	1	7 17 0	Mason, blacksmith, &c.	Statutory visits.
Peterhead, . . .	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	1	11 7 3	Cooper, widow	Twice annually by inspector.
Pitsligo, . . .	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	1	7 17 4	Farmer, labourer	Statutory visits.
Rathen, . . .	2	...	1	...	1	...	1	2	6 10 0	Labourer	Frequent visiting.
Rayne, . . .	2	...	1	...	1	...	2	1	6 13 0	Gatekeeper and knitter	By inspector six times a-year, and by inspector of parish of residence.

Skene,	.	.	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	2	1	6	6	9	Mason and carter	Statutory visits by inspector of parish of residence.
Slains,	.	1	3	1	1	3	...	...	...	3	1	7	2	0	Agricultural labourers	By inspector quarterly.
Strichen,	.	2	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	3	2	7	12	6	Lodging-house keepers	Boys seen once a week; girl under charge of inspector of parish of residence.
Tarves,	.	2	4	2	4	...	...	...	...	4	2	10	8	0	Crofters, householders	Statutory visits.
Tullynessie and Forbes,	.	4	5	4	5	*	...	...	...	8	3	9	10	0	Crofters, householders	Statutory visits.
Udny,	.	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	8	15	0	Widow	Statutory visits.
COUNTY OF EDINBURGH.																
Borthwick,	.	1	2	1	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	8	9	6	Housewife, labourer	One case visited half-yearly, and other quarterly.
Calder, Mid,	.	2	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	10	18	3	Widows	Statutory visits, and at other times.
Calder, West,	.	6	3	6	3	...	...	...	...	7	3	7	19	6	Miners, labourers, housewife	Statutory visits by inspector of parish of residence.
Carrington,	.	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	10	5	0	Coal-miner	Statutory visits.
Cockpen,	.	5	5	5	5	...	...	...	...	8	1	7	0	0	Labouring people	Do.
Colinton,	.	6	4	6	4	...	...	...	...	9	4	8	1	4	Shoemakers, mill-workers, farmers, railway servant	Twice or more annually by inspector.
Corstorphine,	.	1	2	1	2	...	...	...	...	2	1	9	0	0	Widows	Twice a-year by inspector.
Craston,	.	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	1	7	2	1	Labourer, coachman	Seen daily by inspector at school, and visits frequently at dwellings.
Currie,	.	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	9	12	0	Widow	Under inspector of parish of residence.
Duddingston,	.	10	7	10	7	...	...	...	...	15	4	8	5	0	Widows, labourer, aunt, sister, uncle	Children in parish visited repeatedly by inspector.

PARISH.	Total No. of Children Boarded out.		No. of such Children who are Orphans or Deserted.		No. of such Children who are not Orphans or Deserted.		No. of such Children at School.	Greatest No. of such Children in one Dwelling.	Average cost of each Child per annum.	Occupation or Condition of Persons with whom Boarded.	System of Inspection and Supervision employed.
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.					
COUNTY OF EDINBURGH— <i>cont.</i>											
Edinburgh, .	154	128	83	68	71	60	244	4	£ s. d. 10 12 6	Labourers, farm-servants, crofters; miners, engineers, joiners, weavers, mill-workers, housewives, &c.	By special inspector eight times a-year; by Children's Committee once a-year.
Glencross, .	1	1	1	1	...	...	2	1	7 12 0	Mill-workers	Statutory visits.
Inveresk, .	7	9	7	9	...	...	14	3	10 0 0	Miners, gatekeeper, housekeepers	Visited twice a-year, and oftener.
Kirknewton, .	...	2	...	2	...	...	2	1	8 10 0	Miner, baker	Twice a-year by inspector.
Lasswade, .	5	3	5	3	...	...	5	2	10 4 0	Shopkeepers, miners, mill-workers	Statutory visits.
Leith, North, .	4	2	4	2	...	...	5	2	9 0 0	Ploughman, miner, outdoor worker	Twice a-year by inspector.
Leith, South, .	20	20	13	15	7	5	36	5	9 15 0	Carter, printer, seaman, mill-worker, farm-grieve, dress-maker, laundress, &c.	Twice annually by inspector or his assistants.
Liberton, .	5	8	3	8	2	...	11	4	8 15 0	Baker, miner, type-founder, housewife	Twice annually by inspector, and "often more frequently."
Penicuik, .	2	7	2	7	...	...	9	4	6 17 4	Ploughman, agricultural labourer, mill-worker	Statutory visits by inspector of parish of residence.
Ratho, .	2	1	1	...	1	1	1	1	7 4 0	Needlewoman, housewife, gatekeeper	Do.

St. Cuthbert's and Canongate Com- bination,	144	130	112	106	32	14	227	6	10	10	0	Wives of farm-ser- vants, labourers, mechanics, widows Housewife	Annually by Children's Com- mittee with inspector, and special inspector eight times annually. By inspector four times a-year.
Temple, . . .	2	2	2	...	...	...	2	2	8	13	6		
COUNTY OF LANARK.	379	327	265	247	114	80	605						
Barony, . . .	134	160	126	153	8	7	265	6	10	2	0	Masons, carpenters, miners, labourers, tenters, engineers, &c. Housewife	By special inspector four times annually, and by Children's Committee once a-year.
Biggar, . . .	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	1	9	6	6		By inspector of parish of resi- dence.
Blantyre, . . .	1	3	1	3	...	...	3	3	5	0	0	Mill-workers	Statutory visits.
Bothwell, . . .	12	13	12	13	...	...	22	8	7	19	5	Carter, collier, far- mer, dressmaker, outdoor worker	Statutory visits by inspector of parish of residence, and other times.
Cadder, . . .	...	2	...	2	...	...	2	2	8	0	0	Miner	Inspector sees children month- ly.
Cambusnethan, . . .	8	8	8	7	...	1	16	3	8	7	4	Labourers, miners, shoemakers	By inspector usually four times a-year.
Carluke, . . .	10	5	10	5	...	...	11	6	6	6	0	Washerwoman, min- ers, sewers, and a pauper	Statutory visits by inspector of parish of residence.
Carnwath, . . .	5	3	5	3	...	...	6	2	6	10	0	Housewife, gate- keeper, labourer	"Twice by inspector."
Carstairs, . . .	1	1	1	1	...	...	2	2	9	7	2	Labourer	Seen daily, and visited twice annually.
Crawfordjohn, . . .	1	3	1	3	...	...	3	2	6	12	3	Labourer, grocer	By inspector of parish of resi- dence.
Dalserf, . . .	6	8	6	7	...	1	10	5	4	5	0	Miners, weavers, &c. Surfaceman, engine- driver, brewery manager, &c.	Statutory visits. Three or four times yearly.
Dalziel, . . .	9	7	6	5	3	2	14	5	6	15	6		

PARISH.	Total No. of Children Boarded out.		No. of such Children who are Orphans or Deserted.		No. of such Children who are not Orphans or Deserted.		No. of such Children at school.	Greatest No. of such Children in one Dwelling.	Average cost of each Child per annum.	Occupation or Condition of Persons with whom Boarded.	System of Inspection and Supervision employed.
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.					
COUNTY OF LANARK—cont.											
Dolphington, .	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	£ s. d. 10 0 0	Labourer	Statutory visits by Inspector of parish of residence.
Douglas, .	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	1	6 10 0	Housekeeper	By Inspector of parish of residence.
Dunsyre, .	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	5 4 0	Labourer	Twice by Inspector of parish of residence.
Glasgow, .	184	138	178	131	6	7	288	11	10 13 10	Farmers, mechanics, labourers, miners, fishermen, teachers, merchants, housewives	Visited by special Inspector four times, and by Children's Committee once a-year.
Govan Combination, . . .	168	137	143	111	25	26	229	5	8 18 7	Farmers, artisans, relatives, &c.	Half-yearly by special Inspector, and periodically by Children's Committee.
Hamilton, .	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	2	10 0 0	Housewife	Statutory visits.
Kilbride, East, .	4	4	4	4	...	...	6	3	6 10 0	Clothier, labourer, weaver, &c.	Statutory visits by Inspectors of parishes of residence.
Lesmahagow, .	1	3	1	3	...	...	3	2	8 3 0	Housewife, joiner, labourer	Inspection left to Inspector of parish or assistant.
Monkland, New, .	21	28	21	28	...	...	45	4	8 10 0	Mostly miners	Children in other parishes by inspectors of parish of residence. In New Monkland by Inspector twice annually, and by committee and Inspector at the schools.

	19	25	19	25	...	...	34	5	9	1	8	Miners, spirit merchant, &c.	Once a-year by assistant-inspector, and several times if anything doubtful. Statutory visits, and occasionally other visits. Nearly every month by inspector. By inspector twice annually. Statutory visits by inspector of parish of residence.
Monkland, Old, .													
Rutherglen, .	14	11	13	10	1	1	19	3	8	8	4	Tradesmen, miners, labourers, &c.	
Shotts, .	1	3	1	3	...	...	4	1	5	18	0	Moulder, mason, housewife	
Stonehouse, .	2	4	2	4	...	...	6	2	6	14	10	Miner, pit-headman, shoemaker	
Wandell and Lamington, .	2	4	2	4	...	...	4	3	7	8	0	Labourer, farmer, &c.	
	606	573	563	528	43	45	997						

SUMMARY OF RETURNS.

COUNTY.	Total No. of Children Boarded out.		No. of such Children who are Orphans or Deserted.		No. of such Children who are not Orphans or Deserted.		No. of such Children at School.
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	
Aberdeen	200	167	175	144	25	23	296
Argyll	31	20	31	19	...	1	43
Ayr	106	99	103	94	3	5	158
Banff	47	34	47	30	5	4	67
Berwick	19	11	18	11	1	...	26
Bute	12	9	10	6	2	3	13
Caithness	46	39	46	39	...	...	63
Clackmannan . . .	20	16	20	12	...	4	33
Dumbarrow	34	30	33	29	1	1	51
Dumfries	62	46	60	46	2	...	90
Edinburgh	379	327	265	247	114	80	605
Elgin	43	32	39	30	4	2	61
Fife	55	30	54	30	1	...	75
Forfar	160	116	150	113	10	3	249
Haddington	26	24	25	24	1	...	37
Inverness	60	52	41	42	19	10	84
Kincardine	28	22	25	20	3	2	39
Kirkcudbright . .	25	26	22	21	3	5	42
Lanark	606	573	563	528	43	45	997
Linlithgow	28	32	27	26	1	6	45
Nairn	3	3	3	3	...	...	5
Orkney and Shetland	7	3	6	3	1	...	6
Peebles	15	15	14	10	1	5	27
Perth	64	59	59	54	5	5	100
Renfrew	196	161	180	146	16	15	297
Ross and Cromarty .	34	31	31	29	3	2	57
Roxburgh	23	29	19	26	4	3	42
Selkirk	3	1	3	1	...	...	3
Stirling	56	49	55	49	1	...	81
Sutherland	5	4	5	4	...	...	8
Wigtown	34	25	34	23	...	2	52
Total	2427	2085	2158	1859	269	226	3752

APPENDIX No. II.

APPLICATION OF THE POORHOUSE TEST—
CASES OF PERSONS IMPROPERLY
RECEIVING RELIEF.

NOTES OF CASES OF PAUPERS IMPROPERLY RECEIVING OUTDOOR RELIEF, REPORTED ON
BY THE OFFICERS OF THE BOARD OF SUPERVISION.

Name of Parish.	Date of Report by General Superintendent or Visiting Officer.	Substance of Report.	Action taken by Parochial Board upon General Superintendent's Report.	Subsequent Statement of Results by Inspector of Poor.
Keith, .	1875. 11th Jan.	The Report recommended that the poorhouse should be offered to single women receiving relief on account of illegitimate children.	11th February 1875.—With respect to the women receiving relief because they have young illegitimate children, the poorhouse test has been very strictly applied, thirteen women with twenty-seven dependants having ceased to receive relief since this time last year, through being offered poorhouse relief.	19th August 1875.—Since the parish obtained poorhouse accommodation in May 1874, fourteen women with twenty-seven illegitimate children have been struck off the roll. The whole of them declined the offer of the poorhouse, and thirteen of them have continued to support themselves, and are apparently equally as well off as when in receipt of relief. The other, who lives in family with her parents, is assisted by them.
Elgin, .	1875. 21st Jan.	The Report pointed out decrease in number of poor.	5th February 1875.—No fewer than forty such applicants offered the poorhouse during last year who declined acceptance thereof.	26th August 1875.—At this date the inspector reports the following results in regard to those forty cases :— Entirely self-supporting, 23 Supported by relatives, 1 Get assistance from relatives, 6 Admitted to outdoor relief, 4 Admitted to poorhouse, 1 Not known, 1 Dead, 4 40

Kilarrow,	1872. 10th Sept.	Eight cases on the roll which appeared to have families or relatives able to support them.	15th October 1872.—The whole of those cases offered poorhouse.	7th May 1875.—Six refused offer of poorhouse, and have since been provided for by relatives. Two readmitted to outdoor roll, in consequence of peculiar circumstances.
Forfar,	1872. 18th Nov.	There appeared to be on the roll many cases in which the families or other near relatives should support the paupers.	11th March 1873.—The parochial board, after a careful revision of the roll, discontinued outdoor allowance to twenty paupers, with an offer of the poorhouse in each case.	12th June 1873.—Only one of the twenty struck off has again been admitted to relief, at an allowance of 1s. weekly. The other nineteen are all supporting themselves by their own exertions, with the assistance of their relations. Not one of them has taken to begging or vagrancy.
Marnoch,	1872. 30th Dec.	The roll of paupers might, I consider, be considerably reduced, if the parish had poorhouse accommodation at its command, which it has not.	On 9th October 1873 the board approved rates for boarding paupers in Buchanan Combination Poorhouse.	14th June 1875, and 19th June.—Between September 1874 and May 1875 fifteen persons were offered admission to the poorhouse, and, having declined that offer, ceased to be chargeable. The inspector states that, in a majority of cases where relief was offered in the poorhouse, the relatives came forward to their assistance. A few have been able to support themselves by their own exertions.

Name of Parish.	Date of Report by General Superintendent or Visiting Officer.	Substance of Report.	Action taken by Parochial Board upon General Superintendent's Report.	Subsequent Statement of Results by Inspector of Poor.
Fyvie, .	1874. 13th Jan.	Eight cases in which there appeared to be families who should support the paupers.	21st February 1874.—Written intimation given to families that they will be called on to support their relatives.	3d May 1875.—Of the eight persons referred to, five are now off the roll, being wholly supported by their families. Two have had their allowances reduced, their families contributing in part to their support.
Turriff, .	1874. 12th Jan.	Nine cases in which there appeared to be families who should support the paupers. Five cases of single women receiving outdoor relief on account of illegitimate children.	22d April 1874, 27th April 1875.—Of those fourteen cases, ten appeared to have been offered the poorhouse.	27th April 1875.—Those ten persons all declined to enter the poorhouse. Five are supported by their families, one is now dead, and the remaining four are supporting themselves.
Knockando, .	1874. 23d Feb.	Six cases in which there appeared to be families or relatives who should support the paupers.	8th June 1874.—Application was directed to be made to the relatives of those paupers and others to support them, with intimation that the poorhouse test would be applied if they failed to do so.	11st May 1875.—None of those offered the poorhouse accepted it. Six are supporting themselves principally by their own industry, one is dead, one is continued on the roll, the parochial board charging the family for its advances.
Penninghame,	1874. 4th Aug.	Four single women receiving outdoor relief on account of illegitimate children. Ten cases on the roll which appeared either to be able to support themselves, or to have families or relatives able to do so.	7th November 1872.—In every case mentioned by the visiting officer, with one or two exceptions, the poorhouse test has been applied, with the following result: Every one of the paupers so treated declined the offer.	15th May 1875.—None of those offered the poorhouse appeared to have again become chargeable. They are all either self-supporting, or supported by their relatives. The total number of poor on the roll has decreased from 172 in 1869 to 78 in 1875.

Haddington, . 1872. 11th Oct. 1873. 14th May 1874. 21st Aug.	Twelve women, with twenty-one illegitimate children, receiving outdoor relief. Three cases in which there appeared to be families or relatives who should support the paupers.	4th November 1874. — The question of applying the poorhouse test to mothers of illegitimate children would have the attention of the board, and future cases of that description will be dealt with in view of the poorhouse test, while those already on the roll will be carefully reviewed.	18th May 1875. — There is now only one unmarried female left on the roll.
Bothkennar, . 1873. 14th June.	Three cases in which there appeared to be families or relatives able to support the paupers.	24th October 1873. — Eight persons were struck off the roll of paupers, and the weekly allowances of some others greatly reduced.	12th May 1875. — None of those struck off have again become chargeable. They are supported either entirely by their own exertions, or with some help from their relatives.
Kilmarnock, . 1873. 24th Jan.	It is obvious that many cases are improperly on the roll, and, in the inspector's opinion, perhaps 100 paupers would be supported by their relatives, or would support themselves, if the test were applied to them.	14th November 1873. — Ninety-three of the cases referred to were submitted by the inspector to the committee of management. The committee acted upon the advice of the inspector in regard to seventy-eight cases, ten of which entered the poorhouse, and sixty-eight did not enter.	12th May 1875. — The action of the parochial board continues to yield the same satisfactory results. The reports of the officers of the Board of Supervision in the last Blue-Book had a good effect on several members of the parochial board (who had opposed the policy referred to), in convincing them it was the right thing to do.
Carnock, . 1874. 13th May.	Four women, with seven illegitimate children, receiving outdoor relief. Fourteen cases in which there appeared to be families or relatives who ought to support the paupers.	11th June 1874. — Six of those cases offered the poorhouse.	11th June 1875. — All those offered the poorhouse refused the offer. One is now dead, the remainder are not chargeable.

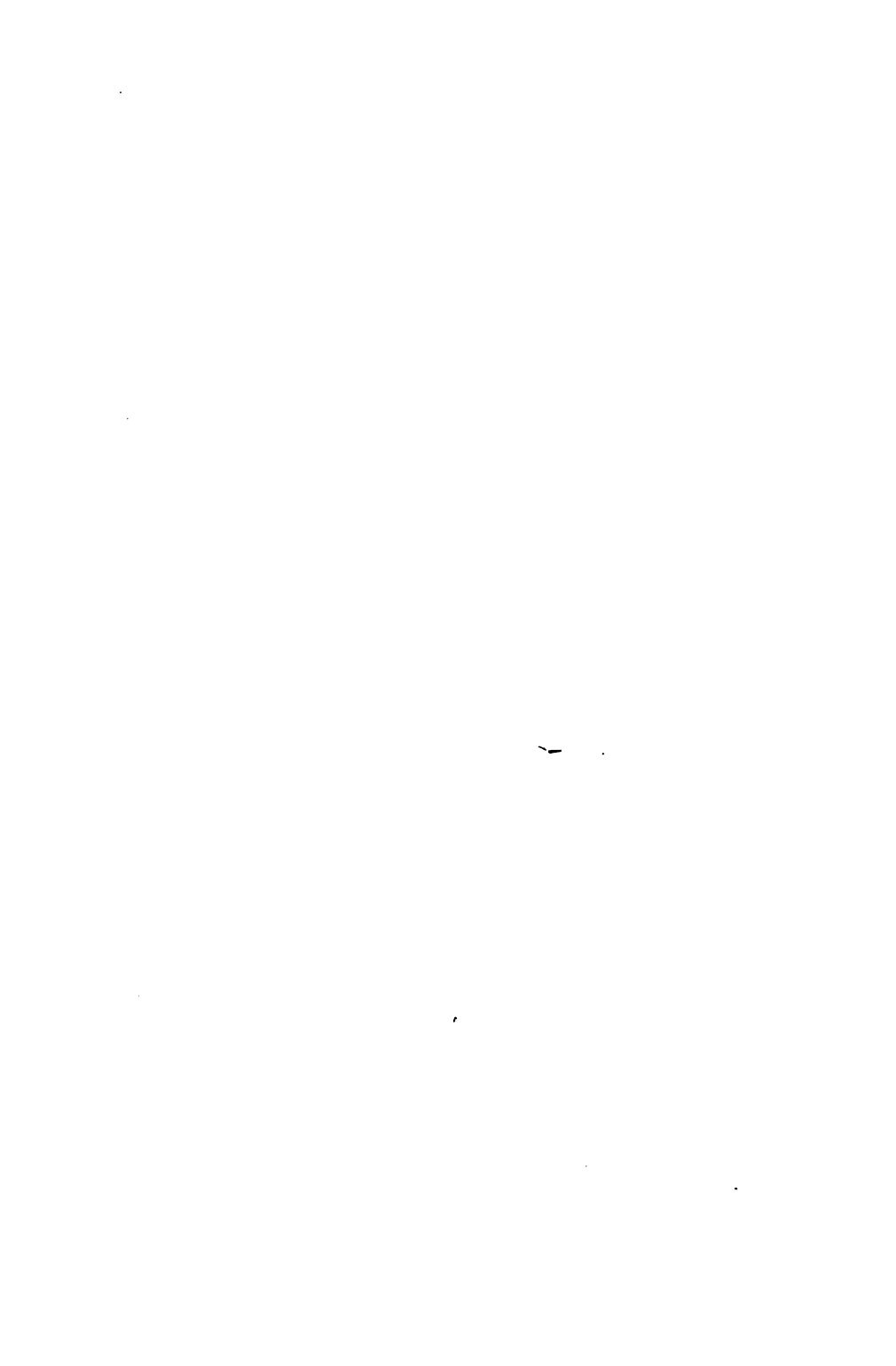
Name of Parish.	Date of Report by General Superintendent or Visiting Officer.	Substance of Report.	Action taken by Parochial Board upon General Superintendent's Report.	Subsequent Statement of Results by Inspector of Poor.
Kells, .	1873. 9th Aug.	Nine single women, with twelve illegitimate children, receiving outdoor relief.	5th February 1874.—The parochial board resolved that in future all persons applying for relief on account of illegitimate children should be relieved in the poorhouse only.	12th May 1875.—The inspector reports that no woman has since applied for relief on account of illegitimate children.
Houstoun, .	1874. 15th May.	Six women, with ten illegitimate children, receiving outdoor relief. Nine cases in which there appeared to be families or relatives who should support the paupers.	9th June 1874.—The parochial board resolved in future to offer indoor relief only to: 1. Women applying for relief on account of illegitimate children; 2. Deserted wives; 3. Cases in which there appeared to be families or relatives who should support the paupers.	20th May 1875.—The inspector states that the resolutions of the parochial board have been fairly carried out in this parish, and the result generally has been highly satisfactory. Eight women, with eleven illegitimate children, were offered the poorhouse during the year. One woman accepted the offer, the remainder declined, and are supporting themselves and their families.
Kirkmichael (Dumfries),	1874. 16th Oct.	Three women, with seven illegitimate children, receiving door relief. Ten cases in which there appeared to be families or relatives who should support the paupers.	18th November 1874.—Poorhouse offered to nine of those paupers.	1st July 1875.—All declined to accept the offer. Some have since supported themselves; the others, who were unable to support themselves, have been supported by their relatives.

Palmont,	1874. 10th Sept.	Several cases on the roll seem to be proper subjects for the test, especially those in which women are chargeable on account of illegitimate families.	10th December 1874. — The course indicated by Mr McNeill in his report is being vigorously carried into effect, with the result of a considerable diminution of the pauper roll.	10th December 1874. — The seven women with eleven illegitimate children all removed from the roll. Two of the other cases removed from the roll, and the allowances of four reduced.	16th April 1875. — In no case was the offer of the poorhouse accepted. They have, without exception, either supported themselves by their own efforts, or with the aid of their relatives, since the discontinuance of outdoor relief.
Glencairn,	1874. 16th Oct.	Seven women, with eleven illegitimate children, receiving outdoor relief. Nine cases in which there appeared to be families or relatives who should support the paupers.	1st December 1874. — The seven women with eleven illegitimate children all removed from the roll. Two of the other cases removed from the roll, and the allowances of four reduced.	16th April 1875. — All struck off the roll are self-supporting, with the exception of one, whose relatives are supporting her.	30th June 1875. — In two cases in which the poorhouse was offered, the paupers have been supported by their relatives. In two cases in which the paupers were struck off the roll, they have supported themselves. Besides those, we have offered the poorhouse to two women with illegitimate children, neither of whom have accepted, besides eight other cases, similar to those pointed out by Mr McNeill, who are all managing without parochial relief.
Kilbirnie,	1874. 23d Oct.	One woman, with four illegitimate children, receiving outdoor relief. Four cases in which there appeared to be families or relatives who should support the paupers.	3d November 1874. — The parochial board agreed to act up to Mr McNeill's recommendation.	22d April 1875. — Of the fourteen paupers offered the poorhouse, none accepted the offer.	
Renfrew,	1874. 14th Nov.	The general register shows an amount of abuse of the poor-law in the grant of outdoor relief to doubtful cases hardly paralleled in my district.	2d December 1874. — Fourteen paupers were offered the poorhouse, and the outdoor alimont of five reduced.		

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